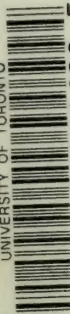


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THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE

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FREDERICK I.," "HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES,"
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BOOK I.

THE GERMAN-ROMAN EMPIRE
OF THE CAROLINGIANS.

(A.D. 768-888.)

THE GERMAN-ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE CAROLINGIANS.

(A.D. 768-888.)

CHAPTER I.¹

THE CHIEF FEATURES OF THE COURSE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY
FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE REFORMATION.

THE mighty movement of the nations, which led the Germanic peoples from their northern home into the interior of the Roman empire, and finally made them masters of the West, lasted about five hundred years, from its beginning in the Marcomannic War (A.D. 167), until, with the rise of the Franks and the enlargement of their state under the Merovingian kings, there emerged the firm foundations of a new system of government for the West which promised to be of long duration.

On these foundations arose a mighty empire. The feeling of antagonism and hostility between Germans and Romans gradually became less intense ; and the stimulus which each gave to the other, and the exchange of ideas between them, vastly increased. As this process went on, there arose a new civilization, which bound together both peoples for centuries in intimate association. The political form under which this great process of civilization appears was supplied by the German-Roman Empire of the Carolingians, the gigantic yet simple and natural creation of the most gifted ruler that the Middle Ages produced. By this means Charlemagne brought the youthful strength of his German countrymen under the discipline of the Roman intellectual life, of which the church was the channel. Thus he educated and refined them, and by the organic union which was gradually effected between their own natural qualities and the

¹ This chapter constitutes an introduction to the section of the History written by Dr. Hans Prutz, which extends from this point to the period of the Reformation.

culture acquired from abroad, prepared them to render the greatest services to mankind. Hence the Germanic and Romance peoples never could forget or deny the fact that the roots of their civilization sprang from the same soil. As opposed to Greeks and Arabs, Slavic and North-German heathen, and the barbarians of Finno-Uralic stock who repeatedly pressed upon them, they were forced to recognize one another as the representatives of the same great interests of a progressive civilization. Both revered in the great emperor, about whom the halo of tradition sheds its lustre, at once the creator of their state and the founder of their nationality.

But the national differences were irreconcilable, and their influence was felt more and more. Besides, the elasticity of the political organization, which held the individual parts only loosely together, was too great. Finally, the descendants of Charlemagne speedily degenerated. These causes brought about the early decay of his empire, and led to a dissolution of it which threatened at last to make it the defenceless prey of barbarian invaders. Then in a struggle for existence the German peoples preserved themselves and the beginnings of their national civilization. Thus they became fully aware of their closer connection and of the strength derived from it. At the same time they became the protectors and champions of the Romans, who were much divided and less able to defend themselves, and to whom they still felt themselves closely bound by their common faith. For more than three hundred years the Germans retained their position at the head of the Christian West. Their common people and their princes devoted their warlike strength and unworn enthusiasm to the defence and propagation of the western civilization, which had its centre in the Roman church. As they performed the duty of devout sons of that church with greater self-sacrifice than all others, they were entitled to claim also those rights which, according to the belief of all times and all peoples, are due to those whose mission it is to defend the sanctuary. They became the apostles of the idea of a Universal State elevated far above all separate nationalities. This idea followed as a logical conclusion from that of the Universal Church; but it sprang quite as much from recollections of heathen Rome. But to the realization of this Universal State the alliance, or (since in the nature of things such an alliance as could be fully depended upon was not to be attained) the subjection of the Universal Church was indispensable. From this fact arose the antagonism which dominates the entire develop-

ment of the Middle Ages, and which finally gave it its decisive turn.

During the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh the German kings, who as the protectors of the church were consecrated to be emperors of Rome, strove to realize, partly in league with the church and partly by forcing it to serve them, the ideal of universal sovereignty which presented itself to the imagination of their age. After frequent delays and occasional reverses, and after their very existence had more than once been endangered, they had at last approached so near to their goal that its complete attainment seemed certain, when a two-fold revolution overwhelmed them. One of the two movements was within the church, beginning with its head and extending downward, and aimed to secure the utmost centralization of authority in the hands of one person. The other was in the German state, beginning in the lower ranks of society and extending upward; and its purpose was the destruction of the kingly power, which had so strengthened itself as to become hereditary. In the period of the strife about the right of investiture, the church not only freed itself from the dominion of the German state, but engaged in religious, political, and social conflicts with the latter. Thus the foundations of the state's authority were overthrown and its lasting recovery made impossible. Henceforth the hierarchical papacy stood beside the empire, competing with it for the sovereignty of the world.

But a church and a state which both alike laid claim to universal dominion, necessarily became irreconcilable enemies, especially since for them it was no longer a question of establishing certain ideal prerogatives, but of gaining and exercising real temporal authority. In the Carolingian period they had worked together harmoniously in the service of Christian civilization; under the Saxon and the first two Salic emperors, in spite of many serious conflicts, they remained, as it were, the double sun about which the western political system gravitated; but after the middle of the twelfth century the empire and the papacy confront one another as implacable foes. The struggle between them grew ever fiercer, and was intensified into a decisive conflict, which could not end except with the ruin of one party. The empire succumbed; for its opponent was not only able to summon to its aid the intellectual and moral forces, but at the decisive moment also excited and unchained the passions and aspirations which it had been its mission to com-

bat. The church found a mighty ally in the striving of the other Germanic peoples and the Romance nations after independence. These had hitherto bowed to the German supremacy because, as they believed, they found thereby the greatest outward security, and the most effectual guaranty that their internal development would be undisturbed. But now they had become conscious of their national individuality, and had secured the recognition of their consequent right to political independence. Thus the idea of a universal Christian state, which had previously found expression in the empire, was decisively overthrown; and, after being for centuries the focus of the entire development of the West, it became in the eyes of one party a mere will-of-the-wisp, and in those of the other the expression of a political principle, which, in the interest of national freedom and the independence of the smaller principalities, must be resisted to the death. Thus in the second half of the thirteenth century a new principle makes its influence felt more and more. The great union of the Germanic and Romance peoples in the Western Empire is completely dissolved; and the different nations shape their political and social systems for themselves according to their special conditions and needs. Thus arose a great diversity, which was permanently incompatible with the ecclesiastical uniformity which the papacy, as head of the universal church, was still striving after. Hence the establishment of national states naturally led to the organization of the churches of the different countries on a national basis, and became the source of a constant opposition to the claims of the Bishop of Rome.

Thus at the end of the thirteenth century begins the decay of the universal church. This great change was also promoted by another cause. During the first half of the Middle Ages the struggle for the faith and for the spread of Christianity not only played a very important part in the life of the different peoples, but proved one of the most efficient means of uniting them in one great whole. To the age in which the Germans and Romans defended themselves only with the most strenuous exertions against the northern Teutons, the Slavs, the Arabs, and the Hungarians, succeeded a period of many generations in which the Germans and Romans assumed the offensive against those very peoples. The boundaries of the latter were pushed far back, while at the same time the domain of Christian civilization was permanently enlarged. The struggle of the Germans with the Danes and Wends, with the

Poles, Bohemians, and Hungarians, belongs to this great onward movement of civilization in the Middle Ages, just as much as does the long strife of the Romance peoples in Spain with the Arab conquerors, or the establishment of the military empire of the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily. But all these separate movements joined in one mighty current, when, in the age of the Crusades, the summons to free the Holy Land from the sway of unbelievers roused to arms the nations of the West. During more than a century and a half tens of thousands of western warriors marched to the coast of Palestine in order to defend, without regard to differences of nationality, the common possession of western Christendom, the kingdom of Jerusalem. Though this possession was not maintained, the results of the great conflicts waged in its behalf were most important for the development of the Christian nations. The contact with the East and its rich material civilization was for the West the source of the most varied and lasting stimulus in every department of life. To this contact the men of the Occident owed their acquaintance with new products, new arts, new commercial routes, and new lands and peoples; while at the same time, as they encountered the intellectual world of the East, which was limited and defined by the Byzantine civilization and Mohammedanism, they experienced a broadening of their field of vision such as they had never dreamed of. Thus the one-sidedness and narrowness of the thought which stood under the control of the church were overcome, and the inclination and power to appropriate and utilize the civilization of the East were created. In this manner the deep dissension which had arrayed the West and East against each other in bitter hostility was again removed.

But with such a turn of affairs as the final outcome of the Crusades produced, the papal church lost in the eyes of its own followers its claim to universal sovereignty, since it had shown itself unequal to the great task which had been set for it. Accordingly, doubts as to the validity of the principles on which its whole proud structure rested arose more and more frequently and forcibly. While the swift rise of numerous heterodox churches, and the successful reformatory activity of independent thinkers, already actually endangered the internal unity of the Roman church, the nations at last learned to know, not merely the charm, but also the inexhaustible wealth and inestimable value, of the secular science and art which had hitherto been closed to them. Thus, and thus only, were they

fully enabled to turn their gaze, which up to that time had been directed only toward heaven, to the earth and earthly interests as well, to take their stand without reserve on the foundation of reality, and to attain simultaneously their freedom and the strength for a successful and satisfactory career.

With this change begins the last stage of development, and a movement in the opposite direction now sets in. As the relation between the two halves of the ancient world changed, and as in each of those halves the different peoples became separated from one another, and national states were founded, new aims, new forms, and new forces came into operation; and in consequence a similar change took place also in the intellectual, moral, and economic life of the peoples individually as well as collectively.

Exactly five hundred years after the beginning of Charlemagne's reign, Conradin, the last scion of the house of Hohenstaufen, fell beneath the axe of the executioner. The high-spirited youth, in the struggle for his hereditary rights, fell a victim to the irreconcilable hostility of those powers which had combated the imperial idea in his predecessors. They had doomed his whole race to destruction. The death of Conradin simply marks the epilogue in the tragedy of imperial and papal antagonism. In its wider aspect it coincides nearly with a great turning-point in the history of the Christian West.

For at the same time when the Neo-Roman empire, founded by Charlemagne, collapses, the first period of French constitutional growth closes with the death of Louis IX., 'Saint Louis,' in 1270. Henceforth Germany was to have a western neighbor which would ill brook the German tutelage of the past. In fact, France, strengthened within, was soon to make its influence felt without, to the detriment of divided Germany. About the same time the English state took national form. It had really begun under Henry II., in the amalgamation of Normans and Anglo-Saxons, and had been furthered by the constitutional struggles under Henry III. In its conflicts with Wales and Scotland, under Edward I., who reigned from 1272 to 1307, the English nation found active scope for its growing national consciousness. Wherever we turn, the end of the thirteenth century presents the same development. Everywhere we find the national spirit rising against the sense of community which the world-embracing empire and papacy had kept

alive. The failure of the last Crusade was a decisive blow to that feeling of uniform community of interests. It led to a transformation of the old political system. In the new polity, there was no room for a world empire. Both its justification and its necessity had vanished; consequently Germany lost the paramount position it had held for half a millennium. For even the eastern countries, won to Christianity, and roused to organized political development through German activity, now begin to play an independent part in western European history. The German monarchy was forced back into narrow limits, and relegated to a purely national field of power.

The downfall of the empire seemed, to the contemporary mind, a judgment of God. Blinded by the momentary triumph of the papacy, western Europe regarded the event as an absolute triumph of theocracy. Italy and Germany were soon given opportunity to understand the rude blessings of the new order. On the pretext of freeing from the imperial yoke those nations over which the church had assumed guardianship, Innocent IV. and his followers utilized Italian and French forces so as entirely to overthrow the empire of the Hohenstaufens. The papacy now tried to replace their rule in Italy by its own supremacy, but succeeded only in breaking down all political order in that country, and in exposing it to centuries of foreign invasions and domestic disintegration.

But the papacy was to meet with painful disappointment after the downfall of the empire. It tried to found its claim to universal rule on theories which were directly opposed to the reality of existing political conditions. When finally Boniface VIII. dared to change this theory into practice, the papacy was worsted by the strong national French monarchy. This defeat resulted in the subjugation of the papacy under the French crown for more than two generations. By diverting the dynastic schemes of the Roman Church into French channels, the kings of France aspired, on behalf of the Anjous of Lower Italy, to the authority which had once belonged to the German emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. The opposition which they met in England and Germany led to the national conflict between France and England. The contest which broke out between Pope John XXII. and the emperor Louis the Bavarian, likewise became a national one, which at last gave birth to a feeling of national consciousness among the Germans.

Thus the chimera of papal supremacy entirely vanished. It

even seemed as if the Eternal City was to be wrested from the church. To prevent that calamity, the papal court finally went back to Rome from its French exile at Avignon, but only to see the strong French party rise in revolt. The Great Schism was the outcome. The depravity of the enslaved church grew apace. Its internal conflicts bore the more heavily on the Christian nations, because in losing its unity the church had forfeited the strongest tie which had bound its members together. Therefore the threatening downfall of the church shook the foundations of social order, and caused an upheaval in the lower classes which threatened to find vent in a violent eruption. It was clear that not only the unity of the church, but also the foundations of society, had to be saved from ruin. In the age of the great church councils this attempt was made. But they succeeded no more in bringing about the much-needed unity of the church than in strengthening and rejuvenating the mediaeval state. The failure of the conciliar movement of the fifteenth century proved the inefficiency of the mediaeval church to fill its former place. In consequence it ceased to be a directive force in the social development of western Christian Europe.

The shipwreck of the reform movement brought on a violent revolutionary crisis which smote all western Europe. It ushered in a new period. To this period belong not only the Hussite Wars, perhaps its most characteristic phase, but also the wars between England and France. Both of these states emerged from them with a new political and social organization, the same in each in all essentials. By the restoration of their natural boundaries, the two powers arrived at distinctive national characters. The conflicts which raged in Spain in the second half of the fifteenth century also sprang from the general upheaval. The main lines and forms of the modern states now first took definite shape. More immediate, however, was the connection between the revolutionary movement and the Hussite Wars, the influence of which affected all the Slav races.

This great commotion brought territorial losses and grave danger to Germany. The position of that country was very precarious. It was wedged in between the new national states of England, France, and Spain in the west, and Poland and Hungary in the east. Nor was it able to carry out the new political ideas of national growth. As a result Germany was handicapped not only in ecclesiastical matters, but also in regard to the great economic

and commercial changes which came in the train of the geographical discoveries of the last half of the fifteenth century.

The attempts at reform by the general ecclesiastical councils in the first half of the same century led only to a renewed recognition and strengthening of the Papal Church. Nevertheless, the reorganized western states were able to thwart its far-reaching hierarchical claims, and to win for their national churches a partial independence from Rome. Only Germany was unsuccessful in this particular. There the weight of the papal authority remained almost unrelieved. It lay especially heavily on the economic life of the nation. Naturally the church suffered in return. The higher classes were indifferent if not hostile to it. This unfriendly feeling grew in proportion as the new humanistic spirit gained ground in Germany, which finally turned the intellectual tendency toward an education based on classical antiquity.

The strong feeling of caste in Germany only became more antagonistic, instead of adjusting itself as in the other states. For both in France and England the royal power had, in its struggle against feudalism, found support in the mass of the lower ranks of the nobility, the cities, and even the peasantry. In return, these elements took a much more advantageous part in the new political system than they had taken in the feudal states of the Middle Ages.

The collapse of the mediaeval *régime* was completed by the new geographical discoveries. The centre of civilization had formerly lain in the border lands of the Mediterranean. In the northwest the Baltic, and the North Sea between England, the Netherlands, and Germany, created subordinate centres. But now the failure of the Crusades and the spread of Turkish power lessened the importance of the Mediterranean as the chief sea-route, and embarrassed the traffic between the east and the west. This condition of affairs brought about a change in the traffic of the world, which found new carriers and new objects. The result was a great shifting in the colonial growth and the profits from trade on the part of the different nations. The maritime development of the Portuguese and Spaniards was the greatest. Next came the Dutch and the English. The Germans and Italians, now cut off from the highways of traffic, saw their former commercial importance diminish.

The attendant economic changes again produced results in the political status of the European states which led to the first general European wars. The fantastic ambition of Charles VIII. of France,

and the greedy territorial policy of Maximilian I. of Germany, proved the sparks which set the scattered combustible elements of Italy on fire. The flames spread through a large part of Europe. Through a strange fatality the House of Hapsburg was the gainer, in consequence of the acquisition of the Spanish throne. It seemed as if the dream of the German kings of ruling the world through the possession of power in Italy was now to be realized by the union of the crowns of Germany and Spain in the Hapsburgers. But to attain universal rule, it was necessary to blot out all national aspirations. This, however, was only possible by putting down the spiritual liberation which, spreading throughout Europe, had weakened the power of the church.

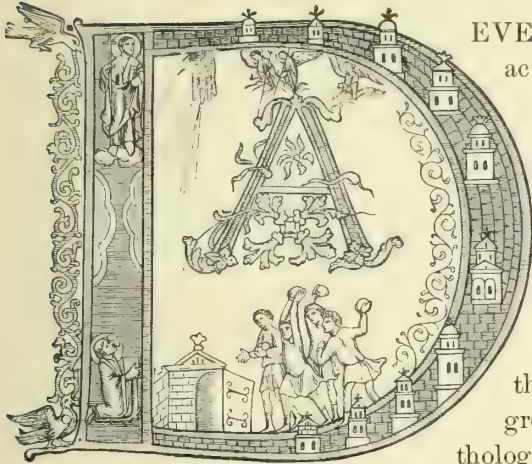
It was incompatible with the dynastic schemes of the papacy to further the universal monarchy of the House of Hapsburg, embracing, as it did, Spain, Germany, the New World, the Netherlands, and Italy.

The papacy did not keep the promises of reform which it had made in the era of the great general councils. If England and France set up a barrier in their national churches against the encroachment of papal power, Spain went a step farther. At the end of the fifteenth century the Spanish monarch used his political predominance to work an intellectual and moral reform in the clergy, thus leading the van in the religious movement of western Europe.

At the beginning of the period under consideration we find that in the church were united all the elements and forces then making for a higher civilization and culture, whether religious or secular. At its close the relation is reversed. The church now stands aside from all these tendencies, which had gained in strength and richness with the Crusades, and later with the revival of learning, and at times assumes an attitude of opposition, especially when awakened thought takes the direction of church reform. The champions of reform are struck down with such violence that even the most moderate are constrained to array themselves against the tyranny of the church, and revolution results. Thus the great social and economic changes of the later Middle Ages were at last accompanied by a breach of a part of the faithful with the church. It was a disruption which brought in a new era, that had already been heralded for some generations in all the fields of human activity.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORICAL SOURCES.



Initial letter, from the *Sacramentarium* of Drogo, son of Charlemagne.

DEVELOPMENT of literary activity in a people, preceded and accompanied by an awakening and intensification of the historic sense, is a sure result of great achievements in an eventful epoch. Whether literature gains more from these achievements for the growth of its national mythology and poetry, or for the more serious task of writing national history, depends upon

the stage of culture to which it has attained as a whole. In both directions the mighty personality of Charlemagne was the source of an inexhaustible stimulus, which continued to be felt long after his time. Surrounded by the glittering circle of his renowned paladins, by the members of a numerous family, and by the representatives of a fresh and progressive civilization, who had been summoned to his court from all parts of the realm, the great emperor became the centre of a poetic cycle of legends, which remained the common freehold of the Germans and the Romance peoples. These Carolingian legends render invaluable aid in forming a conception of the way in which Charlemagne's contemporaries, and the generations immediately following, understood and judged his actions. For this reason the work of an unknown monk of St. Gall on the "Exploits of Charlemagne" has claims to unusual interest. It was composed in 883, at the request of Charles the Fat, and gives in two books, written in a clumsy style, a vivid but fanciful picture of the great emperor.

Among the historical records from which we draw our knowledge of the Carolingian period, the numerous annals occupy relatively the largest space. They arose from brief entries which were made in the vacant portion of the Easter-tables that existed in every monastery and every church. Copies were often made of these entries, together with the tables, for the use of more recent ecclesiastical establishments. Thus they often reappear in very distant places as the basis of later works of like character.

These Carolingian annals have been sometimes named after the place where they originated,—e.g., the annals of St. Amand, a diocese of Tournai (extending down to 810), of St. Germain-des-Prés, near Paris (coming down to 797), etc.,—and sometimes after the place where they were discovered or from which came the manuscript that has preserved them to us,—e.g., the annals of Wolfenbüttel, etc. Among them those which originated in the monastery of Lorsch (Fig. 1), near Worms (*Annales Laurissenses maiores*), and which in all extend from 741 to 825, claim a special interest, because scholars have wished to attribute to them the character of official annals of the empire. Their reason for this is that the author, who is clearly an ecclesiastic who knew how to write, is able to give especially good information about those very things which were naturally beyond the knowledge of an ordinary monk, e.g., military enterprises, diplomatic transactions, etc.

The character and actions of Charlemagne are also brought near to us by the accounts of men who lived on intimate terms with him, and who, therefore, portray him as the man, and not merely as the emperor or warrior. Here lies the never-fading charm which Einhard's "Life of Charlemagne" (PLATE I.¹) exercises upon its

¹ TRANSCRIPTION OF PLATE I.

Facsimile of two pages from Einhard's "Life of Charlemagne" (*Vita Karoli imperatoris*). Vienna, Royal Library, Cod. No. 510, fol. 45^r, 46^r; chapters 21, 22, and part of 23.

[21. Amabat peregrinos et in eis suscipiendis magnam habebat curam, adeo ut eorum] multitudo non solum palatio, uerum etiam regno non inmerito uideretur onerosa. Ipse tamen prae magnitudine animi huiusmodi pondere minime grauabatur, cum etiam ingentia incommoda laude liberalitatis ac bonae famae mercede compensaret.

22. Corpore fuit amplo atque robusto, statura eminenti, quae tamen iustam non excederet (nam septem suorum pedum proceritatem eius constat habuisse mensuram), apice capitis rotundo, oculis praegrandibus ac uegetis, naso paululum mediocritatem excedenti, canitie pulchra, facie laeta et hilari. Unde formae auctoritas ac dignitas tam stanti quam sedenti plurima acquirebatur: quamquam ceruix obesa et breuior nenterque proiectior uideretur, tamen haec ceterorum membrorum celabat aequalitas. Incessu firmo totaque corporis habitudine uirili; uoce clara quidem, sed quae minus

tio. uerum & iam regno
nerosa. Ipse tamen p
uscemodi pondere
& iam ingentia in
atisfacbone famae
rporore fuit amplo
ienti quae tamen
on septem suorum
tat habuisse mensura
ulis p grandibus. ac
mediocritatem exce
cie laeta & hilari. Un
guitas tam tanti qua
atur. quam qua ceruix
proiectior uideretur;
embrorum celabat
otaq; corporis habi
quidem sed qua eminuis
et. Valitudine prospera
leret per quatuor annos
tur. ad extremum & ia
unc quidem plura suo
in consilio faciebat quos

pene exosos habeba
suetus erat dimitter
laxerebatur assidue
illi gentilicium erat
inuenitur quae in
Delectabatur & iam
liter calentium. fi
cens. Cuius adeo pi
ualeat ante ferri
exstruxit. ibiq; ex
bitum perpetim ha
ad balneum. ueru
do & iam satelliti
inuitauit. Ita ut
amplius homines
trio id est francie
lineam et femina
inde tunica qua
tibi alia cum fasc
constringebat. &
thorace confecto
sagoueneto amie
Cuius capulus ac



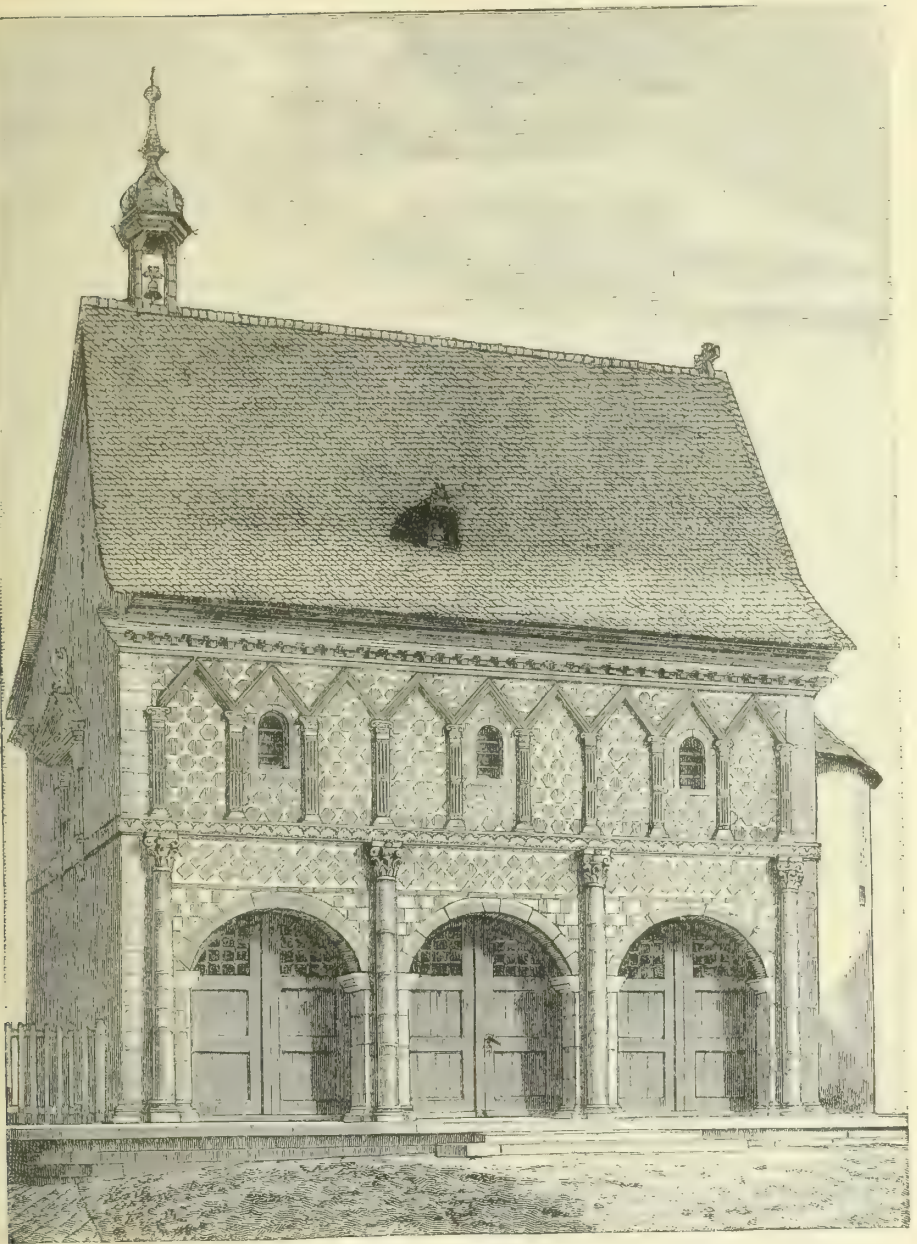


FIG. 1. — The Carolingian building at Lorsch, in Hesse. The façade, with the exception of the three doors inserted under the arches, is in its original condition. The building was erected as an entranceway to the monastery, and is used as a chapel.

readers. Einhard was born about 770, in Maingau, and was of noble parentage. He was reared at Fulda (Fig. 2), and entered the court-school of Charlemagne, which had been established by the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin. There he not only won the respect of all by his learning, but was deemed by the emperor himself worthy of the sincerest love and the most flattering confidence. People teased him, to be sure, about his diminutive size ; but, on the other hand, they gave him the name of the builder of the tabernacle, Bezaleel, on account of his much admired dexterity in all the minor arts. But the prudent advice of 'little' Einhard was listened to also in important questions of state. After the death of the great emperor, Einhard retired with his wife, Imma (who has been erroneously called a daughter of the great emperor), to the monastery of Michelstadt, in the Odenwald, but was repeatedly forced, by the commotions of the following period, to take part in the business of the empire. He died in 840. Scholars have recently been inclined to regard his "Life of Charlemagne" as a maiden work, in view of its clumsy arrangement and the painful exactness with which it adheres to the plan of the biography of Augustus, by Suetonius. Although not free from errors and inaccuracies, it is conspicuous for unity of conception, for affection free from all flattery, and for loving absorption in the character of the hero. It gives a picture of the emperor which in general may still be characterized as a correct one.

Much knowledge of the time of Charlemagne, and especially of the condition of the court and of literature, may be gained

corporis formae conueniret ; ualitudine prospera, praeter quod, antequam decederet, per quatuor annos crebro febribus corripiebatur, ad extremum etiam uno pede claudicaret. Et tunc quidem plura suo arbitratu quam medicorum consilio faciebat ; quos pene exosos habebat, quod ei in cibis assa, quibus assuetus erat, dimittere et elixis aduescere suadebant.

Exercebatur assidue equitando ac uenando ; quod illi gentilicium erat, quia uix ulla in terris natio inuenitur, quae in hac arte Francis possit aequari. Delectabatur etiam uaporibus aquarum naturaliter calentium, frequenti natatu corpus exercens, cuius adeo peritus fuit, ut nullis ei iuste ualeat anteferri. Ob hoc etiam Aquis-grani regiam extruxit ibique extremis uitae annis usque ad obitum perpetim habitauit. Et non solum filios ad balneum, uerum optimates et amicos, aliquando etiam satellitum et custodum corporis turbam inuitauit, ita ut nonnumquam centum uel eo amplius homines una lauarentur.

23. Vestitu patrio, id est Francico, utebatur. Ad corpus camisam lineam ; et feminalibus lineis induebatur ; deinde tunicam, quae limbo serico ambiebatur, et tibialia ; tunc fasciis crura et pedes calciamenti constringebat ; et ex pellibus [lutrinis et murinis] thorace confecto umeros ac pectus hieme muniebat ; sago Veneto amictus et gladio semper accinctus, cuius capulus ac balteus aut aureus aut argenteus [tous erat].

from the letters of the learned Anglo-Saxon, Alcuin. He was sent out from York to Rome, and in 781, in Parma, met with the emperor, whom he followed to his dominions. Alcuin was given the abbacy of Ferrières, and for a considerable time was at the head of the court-school; after which he spent several years in his native land, but finally settled permanently in France, and died there as head of the famous abbey of St. Martin, at Tours. He also essayed poetry, but in this field was far surpassed by Angilbert, a

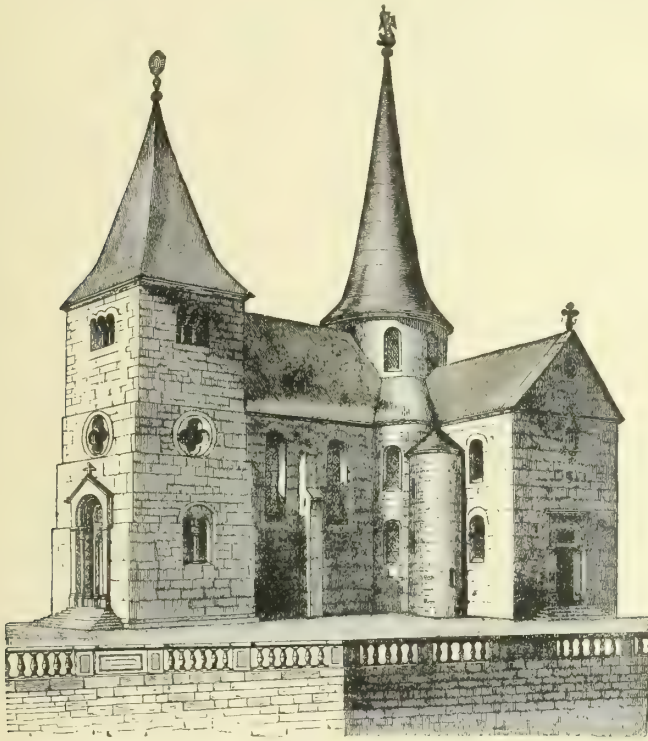


FIG. 2. — St. Michael's Church at Fulda. Erected by Abbot Eigil in 820-822.

man of high descent, who appears to have grown up at court, and to have been educated at the court-school. Angilbert afterwards was honored with the surname of 'Homer,' and Charlemagne provided for him by giving him the rich abbey of St. Riquier, in Normandy. Angilbert, to be sure, did not share the monastic life to any great extent. He furnishes a noteworthy example of the surprising toleration which the emperor showed toward certain offences. Bertha, the beautiful daughter of Charlemagne (with whom Imma, the wife

of Einhard, has been confused), was Angilbert's mistress, and bore him two sons, Nithard and Hartnid. His poems draw for us in elegant language, copied after the best ancient models, vivid pictures of the splendor of life in the imperial palace. They also give an instructive view of the life and occupations of the circle that surrounded the monarch.

Nithard, the elder son of Angilbert and the princess Bertha, wrote in four books the history (*Historiarum Libri Quattuor*) of the quarrels which the weakness of Louis the Pious brought upon the house and realm of the Carolingians. It was composed by direction of Charles the Bald, immediately after the events occurred, and extends to the beginning of the year 843. It is probable that about that time the author fell in one of the less important battles. The account of this valiant soldier is the more valuable because the time of Louis the Pious produced no other important historical work. The two biographies of Louis, of which one was composed by Thegan, an ecclesiastic of Treves, the other by an anonymous writer who betrays knowledge of astronomy, are party documents: and the account given by them sometimes almost reverses the actual course of events. The biographies of several other important men of that time, as of the brothers Adalhard, bishop of Corvei, and Wala, are biased by party spirit, or, like that of Ansgar, the apostle of Scandinavia, are influenced by ecclesiastical prejudices. The chronicle of Abbot Regino of Pruem supplies important materials for the history of the close of the Carolingian period until the beginning of the tenth century.

As to original documents the historian is better situated in regard to the Carolingian period than to the rest of the Middle Ages, inasmuch as for the former a considerable number of public documents exists in addition to the private records, which in other periods are almost the only ones represented. The most important of these public documents are the "Capitularies," the laws of the realm, which were considered and published at the imperial diets. These laws affect almost every domain of civil life, and are especially adapted to give us a vivid picture of the administrative activity of the emperor, which included with equal care things great and small alike. This praise is justified on the one hand by the famous capitulary respecting the royal estates, which gives minute and careful directions for their management, and on the other by the fact that Charlemagne, in order to have a reliable basis for his fre-

quent diplomatic dealings with the Holy See, ordered the letters of the popes to him and his predecessors to be gathered in a special collection (*Codex Carolinus*).

Valuable, as illustrating the spirit and conditions of the age, are the various lives of the saints; accounts of the finding and removal of relics, and their transportation with solemn rites to the places where they were to be kept (so-called 'translations'); attempts at poetry, which owe their origin to the most different causes, and occasional theological or other learned works; also the rather numerous compilations which the heads of churches and monasteries caused to be made on the basis of the documents which they possessed, or of official tax-lists, in order to obtain a precise survey of the condition of these establishments, their income from rent, tithes, taxes, etc., and their rights to special aid or services from their vassals, tenants, or servants. Such records, e.g., the so-called 'polyptychon' of Abbot Irminon, of St. Germain-des-Prés, near Paris, are invaluable for the knowledge of economic conditions, of which the historians of that time usually have not the least comprehension.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLEMAGNE, KING OF THE FRANKS AND LOMBARDS.

(A.D. 768-800.)

WITH the consent of the Frankish nobles, King Pepin, when he felt his end approaching, had at St. Denis divided his kingdom between his two sons. Charles (Charlemagne) received the Eastern Franks, properly so-called, and the ancient Neustria; to Carloman were given Provence and Burgundy in Gaul, which were Romance countries, and Alsace and Alamannia, which were German. As compared with the partitions of the empire that were made in the Merovingian period, this division was purposely conducted from a different point of view. Instead of separating a western half from an eastern one, the boundary-line was drawn between the north and south of the realm, so that in each of the resulting divisions pure Romance peoples, a mixed Romano-Germanic population, and pure German races dwelled side by side, and were politically connected. Only Aquitania was excepted from this arrangement; its western part fell to Carloman, its eastern to Charles. No mention whatever was made of Bavaria, which had at that time actually freed itself from the dominion of the Franks.

The wisdom of Pepin's course was soon proved by the quarrel in which the two royal brothers engaged. The rupture between them took place in regard to the still unfinished organization of Aquitania. The breach then quickly widened, and caused disputes also in relation to other matters. Through the mediation of the queen-mother, the widowed Bertrada, the brothers held at Selz, in Alsace, an interview, which restored peace between them. But that there remained a certain estrangement may be inferred from an event which happened afterwards, and which determined the attitude of the Frankish empire toward the Lombards (Langobards) and the Holy See. Bertrada persuaded Charlemagne to marry a daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and sister of the wife of Duke Thassilo of Bavaria, whose sudden revolt Pepin had been forced to leave unpunished, and who had since come to a peaceful understand-

ing with Charlemagne himself. This Lombard marriage displeased Pope Stephen III. (768–772). His anxiety was not without foundation. The belief that a reconciliation between Charlemagne and Desiderius would be at the expense of the Bishop of Rome, whose latest successes had absolutely depended upon the hostility of the two empires, was surely a very natural one. Under these circumstances Stephen preferred to come to an agreement with the Lombard, who was near at hand, rather than with the king of the Franks, who was far away, and seemed inclined to betray him. The agreement was made in 771. Desiderius himself came into the Eternal City, where the partisans of the Franks, who had hitherto been influential, were imprisoned and killed.

Charlemagne had not looked for such results from his Lombard marriage, and hastened to dissolve it. Carloman, after taking measures that threatened a renewal of hostilities, died on December 4, 771. No opposition was anywhere raised when Charlemagne appeared in the other half of the empire; and with consent of the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries he took possession of it in due form, so that he now for the first time was really king of all the Franks. The few who were dissatisfied with this left the country, and went into banishment, together with Gerberga, the widow of Carloman, and the two sons of that prince, who fled with their retinue to the king of the Lombards, Desiderius. Of course security was not the only thing that Gerberga and her friends sought at his court. After Charlemagne had sent back to him his daughter, Desiderius must have welcomed every opportunity of checking the further growth of the Frankish power. Hence he resolved to defend the rights of Carloman's sons. That these had been wronged by Charlemagne was not to be denied. Their exclusion from their father's rights was contrary to what had previously been law among the Franks in such cases. If Desiderius had counted upon the aid of the pope, this expectation was thwarted by a change in the policy of Rome, which was introduced with a new occupant of the papal chair. Stephen III., who had quarrelled with Charlemagne on account of the Lombard marriage, died. His successor, Adrian I. (772–795), at once renewed the alliance with Charlemagne, and firmly refused the request of Desiderius that he should anoint the sons of Carloman as kings of the Franks. In retaliation for the overthrow of his plans, the Lombard threatened the 'patrimony of Peter' with an invasion; and against him Adrian summoned in the Franks

But just at that time it was inconvenient for Charlemagne to be compelled to march toward the south. He had just begun a war in the opposite quarter, which, in spite of the successes gained in the first campaign, promised to be of long duration. Although repeatedly interrupted by intervals of peace, the Saxon war continued from 772 (PLATE II.¹) throughout almost the whole of his reign.

The old racial and religious hostility between the heathen Saxons and the Christian Franks had from early times found vent in various border-fights. These had often been very fierce, and by their vicissitudes had increased the bitterness on both sides. Charle-

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

Facsimile of a Letter of protection issued for Arnald, a priest, July 5, 772, by Charlemagne. St. Gall, Archives of the Monastery. (Wartmann, Urk.-B. I., No. 65.)

TRANSCRIPTION.

Carolus gratia Dei rex Francorum, vir inluster, omnibus fidelibus nostris tam praesentibus, quam et futuris. Rectum est, regalis potestas illis tuicionem inperciat, quorum necessitas conprobatur. Igitur conperiat magnitudo seu industria vestra, quod nos Arnaldo presbitero propter malorum hominum inlicitas infestaciones sub nostro mundeburde vel defensione visi fuimus recipisse, quatenus diebus vite sue cum omnibus rebus vel hominibus suis, qui per eum legibus sperare noscuntur, sub nostram tuicionem debeat quietus vivere vel resedere. Propterea has litteras nostras ei dedimus, per quas omnino iubemus, ut neque vos nequae junioris aut successoresque vestri ipso Arnaldo presbitero inquietare nec contra rationis ordine facere non presumatis; sed liceat eum cum omnibus rebus vel hominibus suis, ut diximus, sub nostro mundoburdo vel defensione quietum vivere vel resedere. Et si aliquas causas adversus ipso Arnaldo presbitero seu milio et hominis, qui per ipsum sperare noscuntur, surrexerint aut ortas fuerint, quas in pago diffinire non potueritis, usque ante nos sint suspensas vel reservatas, quatenus ibidem secundum legem finitivam accipiant sentenciam. Et ut has litteras firmiter sint, de anolo nostro subter sigillavimus.

Hitherius recognovi et subscripsi.

Data tercio nonas julias, anno quarto regni nosti. Actam Broc . . . g . . e palacio.

TRANSLATION.

Charles, by grace of God, King of the Franks, illustrious man, to all our faithful subjects, present and future. It is right that the royal power should protect those who have need thereof. Therefore let it be known to your excellence or your zeal that we have taken Arnald the priest under our protection against the hostile persecutions of bad men, for the days of his life, together with all his possessions and all the people, who through him trust in our laws, to the end that under our protection he may live and dwell in peace. Wherefore we have given him these letters, wherein we charge all men, that neither you nor your sons nor your successors shall disquiet Arnald the priest, nor venture to act against the ordering of the law: but that he shall be allowed, with his possessions and his people, as we have said, to live and remain in peace. And if any suit be brought against Arnald or the people who seek protection through him which you cannot conclude in your own region, it must be postponed and referred to us and will be adjudicated according to the law. And that these letters may be the better respected, we have sealed them below with our ring.

I, Hitherius have read [the letter] and signed my name. Given on the third day before the nones of July, in the fourth year of our reign. Done in the palace at . . . [place illegible].

[illegible]

mibus fidelibus Notariis etiam presentibus quam absentibus
 quorum Necessitas comprobatur per litteras peritice meam
 biterum prope carmelitarum hominum in libere in possessione
 super te quiescentibus diebus uisite cum omni inbus rebus et
 minor etiam curiam debet quibus uisite uisite
 in libere uisite Notariis etiam presentibus quam absentibus
 in libere non presentibus red libere cum cum omnibus rebus et
 quiescentibus uisite uisite etiam presentibus quam absentibus
 Notariis etiam presentibus quam absentibus quiescentibus
 presentibus quiescentibus in libere uisite uisite
 presentibus quiescentibus in libere uisite uisite

magne, in accordance with the policy of the Frankish monarchy, made use of his first victories for the compulsory introduction of Christianity. This roused the Saxons, whose ancestral faith was threatened, to a desperate resistance. Thus the contest, which at first differed but little from the customary border skirmishes, was gradually changed into a war of races and religions that left its traces for generations.

The Saxon people occupied the region which extended from the slopes of the central mountain chain of Germany northward as far as the coast of the North Sea (which was inhabited by the Frieslanders), and from the Rhine in the west to the Elbe in the east. The Nordalbingians, who lived beyond the Elbe between its lower portion and the Eider, were also reckoned with the Saxons. The eastern part of this domain, into which the Romans had seldom penetrated, was occupied by the Eastphalians, who dwelt between the Elbe and the Leine; then came the Engern, occupying the district called by the same name, on both sides of the Weser, and next to them the Westphalians, who lived in the region of the Ems, Lippe, Ruhr, and Sieg. Uninfluenced by the Roman civilization, they had preserved the simple forms of the ancient German race. They had no national unity, and acknowledged no king, but lived in separate cantons, each of which formed a state by itself. The nobles (Aedelings) were raised by their high descent and rich landed estates above the great mass of the people (Frilings), who elected from them the princes that acted as guardians of law and peace. The cantons were united in a league for purposes of defence, and in war were commanded by a duke. Besides the freeborn citizens, there existed among the Saxons also the lower grades of people, having less political rights, or none at all, — the half-free, the freedmen, and the serfs. As the nation retained the political and social system of the ancient Germans, so it also clung to their heathenism.

At first it seemed as though Charlemagne was destined to win an easy victory. When, in the summer of 772, he crossed the Rhine, and marched into the country of the Engern, he not only succeeded in storming Eresburg, one of the principal fortresses of the Saxons (near the modern Stadtberg on the Diemel), but also in destroying a famous sanctuary which lay a short day's march to the north. Within a sacred grove, such as the Germans had enclosed as places of worship from the earliest times, stood a column conse-

erated to the god Irmin. This was probably a symbol of the column by which the Germanic heathen believed the universe to be supported. The pillar and the surrounding grounds and structures were utterly destroyed; the valuables found there fell to the army as booty. As Charlemagne advanced still farther he met with no serious resistance; and, after the Engern had furnished the required hostages, he marched back to his dominions.

The reason why he contented himself with this modest success was doubtless the hostile turn which his already strained relations with the king of the Lombards had taken on account of the flight of Gerberga and her sons to Italy. The summons of Pope Adrian I. forced Charlemagne to a speedy solution of both the Lombard and the Roman questions. The pretensions of his nephews to the throne, seconded by Desiderius, might easily endanger the internal harmony of the Frankish empire.

From Geneva, where, in consultation with an imperial diet, he took the last, decisive resolutions, Charlemagne set out on the march to Italy, in 773. His army passed the Alps in two divisions, by way of Mont Cenis and the Great St. Bernard. Desiderius attempted to bar his way in the narrow pass at the exit from the mountains into the plain; but the Franks went around him by side-paths, and forced him to abandon his position without a conflict. This seems to have so discouraged and disorganized the Lombard army that Desiderius was forced to give up all thoughts of a pitched battle. His son, Adelchis, strove to make a resistance behind the walls of Verona; but as the city threatened to succumb to the assaults of the Franks, he escaped, and since, meanwhile, almost all of the kingdom had fallen into their hands, he hastened to Byzantium to seek aid against the common enemy of the Lombards and Greeks. Desiderius himself shut himself up in his fortified capital, Pavia, and was closely blockaded there by Charlemagne until want compelled him to surrender after a siege of six months. Meanwhile the Frankish monarch left the army, and went to Rome to celebrate there the Easter of 774, and to regulate in conference with the Pope the future government of Italy. The splendid reception which he met with showed the respect and confidence with which the mighty protector of the church was regarded. Charlemagne confirmed the promises which Pepin had once made at Ponthion, and thus fully secured the territorial existence of the papacy as a temporal power. The papal authority was, however, still considered as emanating from

the supreme ruler, the king of the Franks. Although the church in its need then conceded this point without dispute, yet in later times it felt it as a disgrace, and a restraint upon its freedom, that it was forced to owe the source of the pope's temporal power to a gift from the first Carolingian kings. It therefore tried to cause the historical fact to be forgotten by attributing the origin of the temporal power to a pretended gift of the emperor Constantine to Silvester, Bishop of Rome, which was said to have been merely confirmed and renewed by Pepin and Charlemagne. In connection with this, members of the Roman Curia afterwards altered the phraseology of the decree issued by Charlemagne, so that it appeared to sanction, by express promises of the emperor, the claims which the church, as it grew in power, made to a large part of Italy.

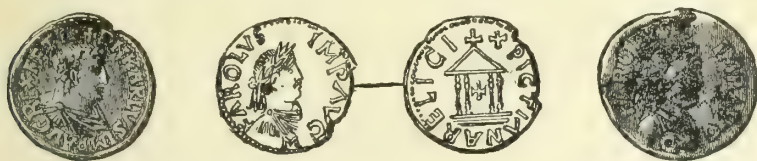


FIG. 3. — Portraits of the Emperor. Three Denarii of Charlemagne. — 1. Legend: † DomiNus KARLVs IMPerator AVGustus REX Franciæ ET Langobardorum. Silver. — 2. Obverse: Portrait of emperor with laurel wreath. Legend: KAROLVS IMP AVG M(=Milan; minting-place). Reverse: A church with cross on roof and on portal. Legend: XPICTIANA (christiana) RELIGIO. — 3. Portrait. Legend, beginning under the bust: Dominus KAROLVS IMPerator AVGustus. Silver. Size of original. (Berlin.)

After his return Charlemagne (Fig. 3) continued the siege of Pavia. Finally, in June, 774, the city was forced to surrender. Desiderius was captured, with his wife and daughter, and carried to the kingdom of the Franks, where he ended his days in a cloister. Gerberga and her sons, who had come into Charlemagne's power at the surrender of Verona, doubtless met a similar fate. The Lombards had no king, and, furthermore, lacked national spirit and cohesion. After the dethronement of Desiderius, the king of the Franks was, without the least opposition, acknowledged king of the Lombards, and the oath of fealty was sworn to him. The Lombard kingdom did not become a province of the Frankish monarchy, but remained a separate state, united to the rest of the empire only by having a common ruler, while its inhabitants still lived according to their old laws. A partial revolt, incited by Adelchis in 776, was easily suppressed.

The Saxons made use of Charlemagne's long absence to free

themselves again from the Frankish sovereignty, which had been imposed upon them in 772. Under Duke Widukind they surprised and destroyed Eresburg, and captured the other strongholds which were held by Frankish garrisons. Not content with these successes, they forced their way into the neighboring province of Hesse, and burned the famous monastery of Boniface, at Fritzlar on the Eder. The Frankish border was laid waste far and wide with fire and sword. This breach of faith gave the war of the Franks against the Saxons at once an essentially different character. In the following years it became a war of races and religions, such as the sources (wrongly) represent it as having been from the beginning. The Franks no longer thought merely of defending themselves against their rapacious neighbors; a great and systematic war was to be carried on, which concerned the whole Frankish realm. Immediately after his return from Italy, Charlemagne (in 774) ordered several detachments to invade Saxony, in order to deter the insurgents from again crossing the boundary. In 775 he held in Quierzy an imperial diet, which resolved upon a war of extermination against the Saxons. This war claimed most of Charlemagne's strength for the next thirty years. With it went hand in hand a great work of civilization, which magnificently disclosed the emperor's talents for statesmanship, and proved him an organizer and ruler of the highest order. For he quickly perceived that mere force of arms could achieve no permanent victory, and that civilization and Christianity must supplement the work of arms.

In the midsummer of 775 Charlemagne invaded Westphalia, captured the strong fortress of Siegburg, and rebuilt Eresburg. Then he turned to the east against the Engern, and marched through their territory as far as its eastern boundary, the Leine, after forcing a passage over the Weser by a victory at Brunenberg. Then, without paying attention to a reverse which a detachment that had been left behind met at the hands of the Westphalians, who had revolted again, he pressed forward into Eastphalia also, and did not stop his progress until he reached the slopes of the Harz and the valley of the Ocker.

Such successes forced the Saxons to yield once more; but scarcely had they heard, in 776, that the king had gone to Italy to quell the revolt of the Lombards, when they took up arms again under Duke Widukind. The latter had withdrawn from the land before the conqueror, but now returned, and, as the national cham-

pion, summoned his countrymen to a new insurrection. After the return of Charlemagne, the whole army of the Franks assembled near Worms, in the plain beside the Rhine. The Saxons strove to render their land, which was almost impassable by nature, totally inaccessible by means of barricades of trees and other artificial means; but Charlemagne penetrated so quickly into the heart of Westphalia that the courage of the insurgents sank. The emperor recaptured Siegburg, and pitched near the source of the Lippe a fortified camp which commanded the surrounding country far and wide. Thereupon the Saxon princes and nobles flocked to it in crowds to propitiate their angry sovereign. Charlemagne obliged them to accept Christianity as a security of fealty. At the same time he decreed that those Saxons who should again break their faith should forfeit all their landed property, and arranged to secure the supremacy of the new order of things by systematically planting colonies of Frankish immigrants. Charlemagne even went so far as to formally express the admission of Saxony into the Frankish empire by appointing, as early as 777, a meeting of the imperial diet on Westphalian soil, in Paderborn. He was destined soon to learn that he had far overestimated the effect of his recent victories, and that the introduction of Christianity, instead of soothing the mind of the freedom-loving Saxon people, had only made it at last fully understand what was at stake. The recurrence of a situation similar to that which had made possible the revolts of 773 and 776 favored the Saxons in their enterprise.

At the diet of Paderborn appeared the picturesque forms of some Arabian ambassadors, who had sought out the king in this distant province. These envoys had been sent by Ibn al-Arabi, emir of Saragossa, to ask for aid against the Omayyad calif of Cordova, Abd-er-Rahman. There may have been something attractive for Charlemagne in this summons to fight against the enemies of Christianity in the far southwest, at the very moment when, as he believed, he had won over the heathen Saxons to the Christian faith. No doubt he was influenced by the settled policy of his house, which, consistently followed by Charles Martel and Pepin the Short, aimed at the establishment on the basis of the Frankish kingdom of a universal empire in close alliance with the church. At the same time he evidently purposed to make subject, as well as to protect, the struggling Christian powers of the peninsula. He was soon to learn that they preferred independence to protection.



Initial from the Evangelary of Charlemagne, Vienna.

IN the summer of 778 Charlemagne advanced southward over the Pyrenees with two armies, one of which descended in the east toward Catalonia; while the other, under the king himself, took the western route through Navarre. The Basques, who inhabited that region, in spite of the fact that they were of the same faith as the Franks, united in arms with the Mohammedans against them; and the Goths, who ruled in the kingdom of Asturias, followed this example. Thus the Spanish war lost its religious character from the very outset, and became a mere campaign for purposes of conquest. There was the less reason for this expedition because the Christians of those regions who stood under Mohammedan rule lived undisturbed in their own religion, and in ecclesiastical matters enjoyed a freedom such as in the kingdom of the Franks was actually precluded by the zeal of Charlemagne and his clergy. The undertaking resulted in a failure. Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, was captured, but was destroyed when, after a vain attack upon Saragossa, the Franks were forced to begin a retreat. On the way back they met with a severe disaster; their rear-guard was waylaid by the Basques in the almost impassable defile of Roncesvalles, and was utterly destroyed (August 15, 778). Among the warriors slain on that occasion Roland, the vali-

ant ruler of the March of Brittany, was especially lamented; and tradition afterwards made him the typical representative of the heroism of that warlike age. The immediate result of this calamity was that the country which Charlemagne had wished to protect against the calif of Cordova fell into the power of the latter, and the sway of Abd-er-Rahman was extended beyond the Ebro as far as the Pyrenees. Not until twenty years later did the situation appear more favorable for an extension of the Frankish power in the direction of Spain.

Perhaps Charlemagne would not have left the defeat at Roncesvalles unrevenged if the Saxons had not made his absence the oppor-

tunity for a new revolt, which in systematic preparation, unity of leadership, and energy of execution, far surpassed the earlier ones. The soul of this revolt was Widukind. He had escaped to the Danes, and secured them and the Friesians as allies; and he now appeared once more to summon his countrymen to shake off the Frankish yoke and extirpate Christianity, which they so bitterly hated. They flocked eagerly to his standard. In a very short time but little trace of the Frankish power remained. The fortress of Karlsburg sank in ruins. To revenge themselves for the destruction and desecration of their sanctuaries, the Saxons swooped down upon the churches and ecclesiastics. They carried the terrors of fire and sword as far as the Rhine, and the whole country from Deutz to Coblenz became one scene of horrible devastation. But at the approach of the forces hastily levied by the returning king from Alamannia and the East-Franks, they slowly retreated. In the meantime Charlemagne was assembling all the forces of the Franks at Düren, where he held an imperial diet. In the love of the Saxons for their liberty and their religion he saw only sinful obstinacy and perjured faithlessness. He crossed the Rhine near the mouth of the Lippe, and forced an entrance into Westphalia by a victory at Bocholt, where the Saxons had erected works to close the passage. It appears that after this he met with no serious resistance. The Saxons avoided a battle in the open field. They attempted only here and there to check the march of the Franks, making use of the natural shelter afforded by hills, forests, and swamps, and then returned to their abodes in order to escape further chastisement by a feigned submission. When Charlemagne had advanced as far as the Weser, the Engern and Eastphalians followed the example of their western countrymen. Saxony seemed to be thoroughly subdued, and the work of civil and ecclesiastical organization could be resumed. For this purpose Charlemagne held a diet as early as 780, in Lippspringe. Saxony was now divided into a larger number of districts; and over each of these the king placed an ecclesiastic, with the necessary assistants, for the purpose of establishing the lasting supremacy of the Christian faith. The condition of peace lasted this time longer than usual. The Saxons seemed at last to resign themselves to their fate. Even when Charlemagne was subsequently obliged to make a third journey to Italy, and was detained there for some time, Saxony remained quiet. Widukind, however, had fled the country, and was seeking allies for a new revolt. He was certainly in secret communication

with those of his countrymen who were discontented, — a numerous class, — and was only waiting a favorable moment to make still another attempt to recover his nation's freedom.

This time, as well as before, Charlemagne had overestimated the range and permanence of his successes. He was misled into hastening the establishment of the new order of things in Saxony, in a manner which could not fail to wound most deeply the feelings of the conquered. Thus the Saxons, who up to this time had scarcely appreciated the results of their defeat, became at last fully aware of them, and perceived with horror what was the object which Charlemagne intended to accomplish.

One can scarcely suppose that the mere introduction of the Frankish system of government by counts would have been felt by the Saxons to be so unendurable that they would take up arms to avert it. But at the same diet at Lippspringe (782) at which this innovation was resolved upon, other enactments were made which necessarily seemed, even to those Saxons who were desirous of a peace, to be the beginning of a disgraceful servitude. They were obliged to contribute a tenth of their property (which had never before been taxed) for the support of the Christian churches and chapels, which were now springing up in every part of the land. This was regarded by the Saxons, who still preserved unimpaired the ancient German ideas about tribute, as at once a dishonor and an infringement of their liberty. Even in Charlemagne's council, there were some who warned him against this very step. Beside all this, there were severe penalties appointed against those who secretly or publicly clung to heathen customs, or transgressed the ordinances of Christianity. The Saxons could no longer doubt that they were to be mercilessly forced to change their faith, when they heard from the new Frankish counts and the Christian priests, who went through the country in bands, that all who refused to receive baptism, or to let their children be baptized, or who burned their dead after the old heathen custom, or who even violated the fasts ordained by the church by eating meat, should perish under the executioner's axe. Such a law was, of course, in accordance with the spirit of that age, in which religious zealots believed that the holiness of their cause justified their inhumanity. But the minds of the Saxons could not be reached by the logic of the missionaries, and felt only the dreadful cruelty that seemed so inconsistent with the doctrine of love for one's neighbor, which was proclaimed by the same lips.

Only a favorable opportunity, or a new provocation, however slight, was needed to bring on a fierce outbreak of national hatred. Charlemagne seems to have unwisely hastened the catastrophe. In order to punish the Sorbs, who were in the habit of invading and plundering the Saxon and Thuringian border-country, for a fresh raid, he sent out a detachment of East-Frankish soldiers under his kinsman, Theodoric, and gave him also a body of Saxon troops. During their march some of the Saxon cantons in their rear revolted. Widukind himself is said to have come from Denmark in all haste, and to have appeared in person on the scene of the uprising. Clearly the moment was considered especially favorable for a great national war. When Theodoric heard of the revolt that had broken out in the rear, he turned about, and marched against the insurgents. It appears that the Saxon contingent which had been given him turned its arms against the Franks. At all events, he attacked the strong position of Widukind on the Süntelgebirge, near the right bank of the Weser, close to Hameln, and was utterly defeated by the Saxons, who were much superior in numbers. Theodoric himself and many of the Frankish nobles were slain.

One is somewhat surprised that the news of this victory of Widukind and his followers did not rouse every Saxon to arms. The marvellous celerity with which Charlemagne appeared on the scene to avert further mischief doubtless contributed to the result. This time the retribution which the angry monarch inflicted on the rebels was severe indeed. Soon after the battle of the Süntelgebirge, he stood in the heart of Saxony with his hastily levied Frankish troops. In the district of Verden, where the Aller falls into the Weser, he issued to the counts and nobles of the land the order to bring to him those who had participated in the treason that had been practised. It had been ascertained that Widukind, who was designated by all as the real instigator of the revolt, had once more escaped by a timely flight. Charlemagne's demand seems to have been complied with literally: those who had shared in the uprising were brought into the camp in crowds. According to the letter of the law they had certainly forfeited their lives. They would have had no reason to complain if those who, next to Widukind, had been especially prominent as instigators and leaders of the revolt. — or, in case it could not be proved that any particular persons were more guilty than the rest, the noblest among them — had atoned for their transgression by their death. But even to that

age, which was so little influenced by considerations of humanity, the act of Charlemagne in ordering the execution of all the Saxons who had been given up to him (according to the sources, about 4500 men) seemed barbarous. The "bloody assizes" at Verden on the Aller will always remain a sad memorial of the cruelty which in that benighted age made the soul even of a gifted and noble ruler untrue to itself.

The bewilderment and horror with which so unexampled a chastisement had at first filled the Saxons were succeeded by an outbreak of fury. The struggle against the Frankish power was forthwith renewed. The war raged with undiminished violence during the following years. No longer did single cantons, or leagues of cantons, revolting now in one quarter, now in another, strive to hinder the establishment of the Frankish sway and the Christian religion among them, by taking up arms; almost the entire Saxon people aroused itself for a great national war. This was no longer conducted by sudden attacks, predatory raids and ambushes; for the first time the Saxons assembled in great armies, which were drawn up in dense and serried masses, and did not shrink even from a battle in the open field.

As long as Charlemagne remained in the heart of Saxony, the inhabitants restrained themselves, and the winter of 782-783 passed quietly. Meanwhile the general revolt of the next spring was doubtless being concerted between the several parts of the Saxon nation. Duke Widukind certainly had a share in this. The way in which the Saxons conducted themselves at the outset shows that they were under a single leader, who aimed, by exercising all his power, to bring about a decisive result as soon as possible. In 783 Charlemagne marched through Westphalia, without, as it seems, meeting any serious resistance. He then penetrated into Engern, in the direction of the upper Weser. There, where the heights of the Teutoburger Forest and Osning made the situation especially favorable for repelling a hostile attack, he came upon the army of the insurgents, which, for the first time, ventured to fight a pitched battle. This conflict took place not far from Detmold. We have no very exact account of its course, and even of its result we can form only a vague idea. But it can scarcely be said that the Franks were victorious; for they not only suffered considerable losses, but also retreated to Paderborn. Even if the battle at Detmold was indecisive, the Saxons could boast of an important success. It was no

slight thing to have showed themselves a match for the whole Frankish army under the victorious king himself; and the tidings must have made a deep impression far and wide. The king acted with unusual energy. He gave only a few days' rest to his army, during which he was probably able to obtain re-enforcements. Then he broke camp, and followed the Saxons along the ridge of Osning and the Teutoburger Forest. After the battle of Detmold they had marched somewhat to the north. At the Haase they engaged him a second time, but met with a defeat, which not only crushed the strength of the revolt, but fully removed any impression unfavorable to the Frankish power which the fight at Detmold might have created.

The fact that the Saxon resistance continued shows that the character of the war had altered after the executions at Verden. Charlemagne, therefore, appeared again with his army in Saxony in 784. Westphalia was laid waste with fire and sword. A similar chastisement of Engern was rendered impossible by the summer rains, which forced the king to halt at the Weser on account of inundations. He therefore turned to Eastphalia, and marched through it, as far as the confluence of the Saale and the Elbe, punishing the inhabitants as he went. But even in his rear quiet was not yet fully established; for his son Charles, who was appointed to guard Westphalia, had to defend himself there from an attack. Charlemagne, therefore, spent the winter in Saxony in order to crush the revolt by a steady military pressure. In this he succeeded; at all events, the Saxons did not venture a pitched battle, and only engaged with the Franks from behind protecting fortifications. Such was the case also in the campaign of 785, in which Charlemagne marched through Engern as far as the place where the Werra flows into the Weser. There he was again prevented from advancing farther, this time by lack of water. In order to keep the land for some time under his own observation, he summoned the Frankish nobles to him there, and held the annual diet in Paderborn.

The conflict had now lasted for three years; and the occupation and devastation of Saxony by the Frankish armies had continued for two years without interruption. The power of the Saxons was broken, and their resistance slackened. Even the more determined spirits gradually gave up the cause of their gods as lost. The struggle for the liberty of the Saxons had never been undertaken with more unanimity and vigor than in 783; and since it had so con-

spicuously failed, all hopes of better success in the future were clearly excluded.

Thus at last the desire for quiet and peace prevailed among the Saxons; and even Widukind submitted, and permitted himself to be baptized (Fig. 4). Ten years of salutary peace followed, during which the civilization which had been planted in the newly conquered country was in some degree enabled to strike root.

The fact that the utmost power of the Frankish empire had been employed for three successive years in Saxony necessarily affected the condition of the other border provinces.

In the west the restless Celtic inhabitants of Brittany, who once had been sternly held in check by the warden of the Mark, the valiant Roland, had renewed their predatory inroads; and in 788 it was found necessary to compel them, by force of arms, to give hostages, and swear allegiance.

Since Charlemagne's last absence in Italy (where, in 782, after being repeatedly urged by Pope Adrian, he had made the latter master of most of the districts which the church claimed on the ground of promises previously made, viz., of the Duchy of Rome, the exarchate of Ravenna, together with the so-called Pentapolis, and also of the Sabine district, as well as of the country around Capua, and several other places in Campania), the relations of the Frankish power to the duchy of Benevento took a less favorable form. In the midst of the opposing powers, whose influence and intrigues ran counter to one another there, Duke Arichis was striving to achieve complete independence. As he had married a daughter of Desiderius, he was a brother-in-law of Adelchis, to whom, on the other side of the Alps, Thassilo, Duke of Bavaria, stood in the same relation. Since the Byzantines, too, still retained part of their former possessions in Lower Italy, there centred in the south all the efforts which were made to weaken or destroy the Frankish power in the Italian peninsula. An attempt of Charlemagne to regulate these matters in concert with the Byzantine empire probably had to be given up as impracticable. At all events, while he was in Italy the engagement of his daughter Rotrud to the young emperor Constantine II., the son of the Athenian Irene (who was then empress of the East, and because she favored the worship of images had been forced to seek the friendship of Rome and of Charlemagne), was broken. A rupture with Byzantium was therefore impending. Prince Adelchis had certainly helped to bring about this hostile turn of affairs;

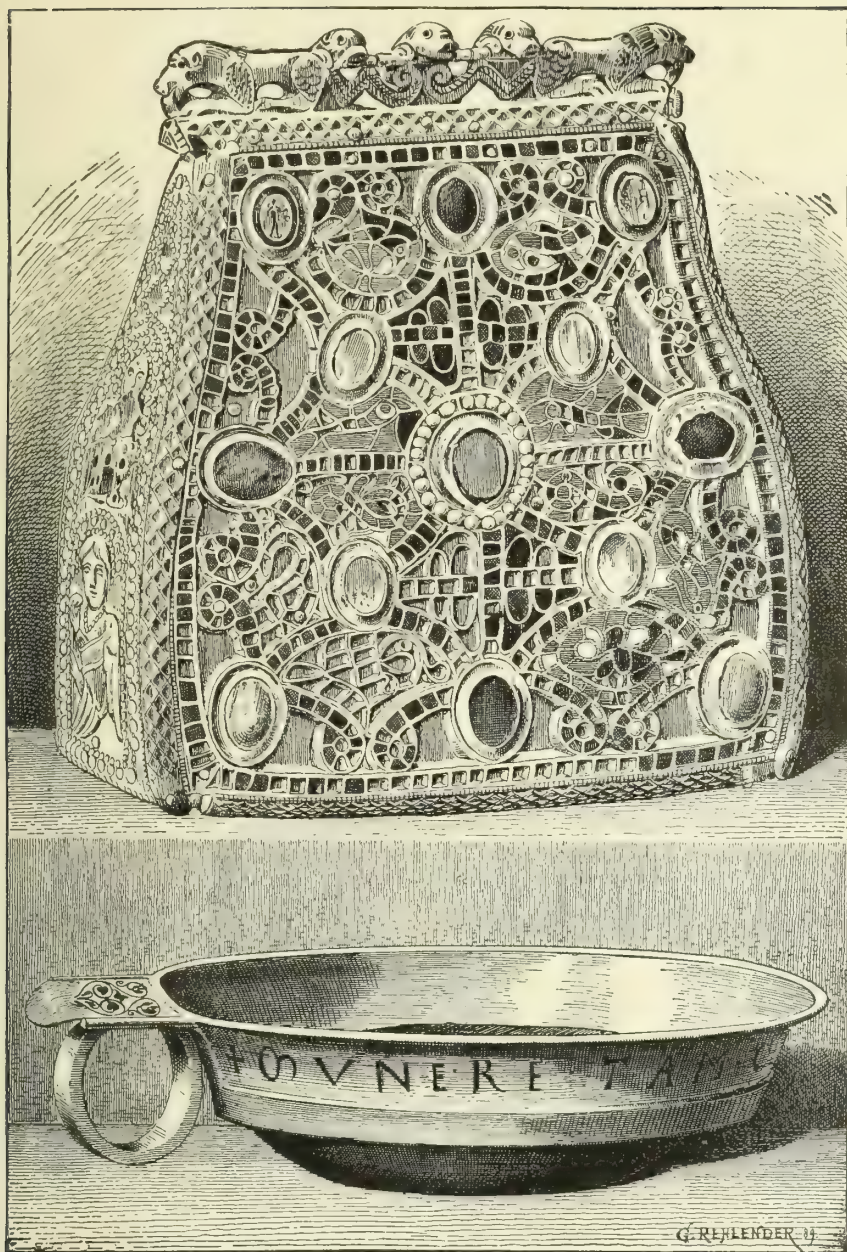


FIG. 4. — Reliquary, in the form of a casket, with enamel and glass paste ornament mounted in gold. Carolingian work; eighth century. Baptismal bowl of Duke Widukind. African jasper, mounted with gilded bronze. Inscription in enamelled letters: *Munere tam claro nos didat Africa raro*. Said to have been found in the grave of Widukind. These two objects were, according to tradition, baptismal gifts made by Charlemagne to Widukind, and were by the latter bestowed upon the house of St. Dionysius at Enger, near Herford (Westphalia). (Berlin.)

and he no doubt expected, in case of success, to reap the lion's share of the profit. Unfortunately for him, Arichis died in the summer of 787. His son Grimoald, to whom Charlemagne, at the wish of the Beneventines, gave the ducal authority, gave up his father's plans, and at first remained loyal to the king of the Franks. When, in 788, Adelchis and his Byzantine allies tried the fortune of arms, Grimoald, with the aid of Duke Hildebrand of Spoleto and a Frankish contingent, inflicted on them a severe defeat. In consequence of this the son of Desiderius returned to the Byzantine court, and gave up all thoughts of recovering the power. But the recollection of his valiant struggle for the rights of his family was not lost; and he lived on in poetry and tradition as a hero of marvellous strength and prowess, but bold even to rashness.

At the very beginning of his reign, Charlemagne, through the intermediation of Sturm, abbot of Fulda, had come to a peaceable understanding with Thassilo, duke of Bavaria. This, however, evidently was not a peace that reconciled all disputes, but a kind of truce in which both parties reserved to themselves the subsequent accomplishment of what they had not yet attained. Charlemagne had in view the abolition of the excessive degree of independence which had been temporarily left to the duke; Thassilo aimed at a complete and lasting separation from the Frankish empire. This precarious situation was rendered still worse by the opposition which the rulers made to one another in regard to Charlemagne's divorce from his Lombard wife, the dethroning of Desiderius, the struggles of Adelchis, and the machinations of Arichis. Thassilo was forced to see his sister-in-law, his father-in-law, his brother-in-law, and his nephew, one after the other fall victims to the Carolingian policy. On the other hand, the fact that Charlemagne was busied with many matters in other quarters, and especially with the Saxon war, gave the duke for a series of years full liberty to work systematically for the lasting restoration of the independence that Bavaria had formerly possessed under the Agilolfings. He actually succeeded so far that Charlemagne's supremacy became merely apparent, and could be completely set aside at the first opportunity. Thassilo seems to have believed that this opportunity had come when in 787 the projects of Adelchis, Arichis, and the Byzantines were approaching their realization. But the prompt arrival of the emperor, his wise moderation toward the treacherous duke of Benevento, the death of the latter, and the refusal of his loyal successor to join in the conspiracy thwarted the plans of the coalition. Accordingly, Thassilo

too resolved to change his plans. While Charlemagne was in Rome the duke asked the pope to act as mediator between them. But this was no longer possible in a sense favorable to Thassilo's plans; for the Holy See would consent only at the price of his complete submission to the Frankish authority. On the other hand, after the danger in Italy had been removed, Charlemagne thought that the time for a reckoning with the insolent Agilolfing had come; and to lessen his power was at the same time to give stability to the favorable turn of affairs in Italy. Charlemagne was sure of the support of the church, which threatened the duke with excommunication in case of further disobedience. So, after his return from Italy, he summoned Thassilo to an imperial diet at Worms to answer the charges that were brought against him. These amounted to this, that he had broken the faith which it was his duty as vassal to keep with his master. Thassilo feared violence: he declined to appear, and armed himself for an energetic resistance. But with irresistible quickness Charlemagne marched upon him and crushed him before he was ready for war. Three Frankish armies crossed the Bavarian border and forced their way into the country. At the same time, the church, as it appears, executed its threat and excommunicated Thassilo. The ranks of his warriors were thinned by desertion even before he had a chance to try the fortune of arms. To avert a worse fate, he yielded, and declared his readiness to return on the usual terms to his position as a subject. At the end of October in 787 he presented himself before Charlemagne, who was stationed with his army on the Lech, and renewed his oath of allegiance.

This result has something almost surprising about it; it is much more moderate than was to be expected from the bitterness of the hostility between the two monarchs. Duke Thassilo had succumbed to an attack made by Charlemagne with superior forces. Without doubt, as he did reverence to the king, he already in his secret resentment thought of the moment when he would break once more the fetters which had just been laid upon him. Charlemagne appeared to trust the duke's oath and did not at once take measures to prevent him from breaking it; but this course is easily explained if we remember that the king's relations with Lower Italy and Byzantium were still in a critical condition, and might easily be prejudiced by too great severity toward Thassilo. But the decisive struggle, though deferred by both sides, was not long delayed. The victory of the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto over the Byzantines and their protégé Adelehis allowed

Charlemagne to act without the influence of those considerations which had hitherto guided him in the Bavarian question ; and Thassilo himself gave him a pretext for carrying out in full what had been only half done the year before. Without any regard for the hostages that he had been obliged to give, among whom was his own son Theodo, the duke planned a new revolt, and to this end sought to form an alliance with his neighbors on the east, the savage Avars, who were to invade the Frankish kingdom. Even in the sight of his own partisans he by this act brought an indelible stain upon his own cause, and heaped one crime upon another. According to Einhard, it was Thassilo's wife, the daughter of Desiderius, who urged him to this fatal step because she still thought of avenging her father's dethronement. In this we probably should see only a proof that in the opinion of the men of that time there was a secret connection between the Italian disturbances and the conflict with Bavaria. But it was already too late for Thassilo. His dubious and inconsistent attitude, which estranged both friend and foe alike, had undermined his authority among his subjects ; and his alliance with the Avars, which threatened the land and people with a barbarian invasion, of necessity completely alienated every one from him. Even in Bavaria itself the national spirit was not strong enough to make the people follow their duke in such suicidal enterprises. Accordingly, they raised complaints against him on account of his new breach of faith. This decided his fate. Charlemagne summoned him to a diet at the imperial palace at Ingelheim. It appears, however, that the charges against Thassilo could not be legally proved, although all may have been morally convinced of their truth. Such half-way measures as had been possible the year before were now out of the question. It was not possible for Charlemagne to leave the duke in office ; and what could be proved against him was not sufficient ground for a verdict that would render him entirely harmless. His removal was a political necessity, but it was desirable to disguise it under the form of a legal process, and to palliate it by the influence of a solemn sentence given by the imperial diet. Accordingly, the nobles assembled at Ingelheim condemned Thassilo to death, because twenty-five years before in Pepin's Aquitanian campaign he had returned home with his followers without permission, and so had become guilty of the crime of *Herisliz*, which was deemed equal to desertion. A way to bring the duke's power and life into the hands of Charlemagne had to be found at any price. The latter, however, had still the opportunity to win renown for mildness and clemency by mitigating the sentence. Thas-

silo's request to be allowed to retire into a cloister and end his days there was doubtless not entirely voluntary, and was granted with all the more readiness on that account. In July, 788, the last scions of the family of the Agilolfings were deprived of the sign of their royal descent, the long lock of hair, as the last Merovingians had been before them. Thassilo and his two sons, Theodo and Theodebert, donned the cowl and disappeared as if buried alive behind the walls of a cloister. The duchess Liudberta and her daughters were also obliged to vow themselves to heaven.

Bavaria was now incorporated into the Frankish empire; and as it was deprived of all special privileges, it stood henceforth on the same footing as the other provinces. The government was entrusted by Charlemagne to Gerold, the brother of his Alamannic wife, Hildegard, who had died in 783; but apparently he administered it as a whole, and the land was not divided among subordinate counts. This departure from the usual system was perhaps intended to render the transition of the country into its new condition less abrupt. There seem, however, to have been some difficulties. Certain extraordinary events in after years give one reason to suspect that a kind of uneasiness, which malcontents and partisans of the Agilolfings tried to turn to account, long existed in Bavaria. Einhard, who generally prefers not to mention occurrences disagreeable to the royal house, relates that an illegitimate son of Charlemagne named Pepin, a young man of beautiful face, but a hunchback, while wintering with the king in Bavaria during the war with the Avars was misled by discontented nobles into heading a conspiracy which aimed at his own elevation to the throne. This plot, which was laid in 792 in Ratisbon, can scarcely have had any other object than the separation of Bavaria from the kingdom of the Franks. It was of course discovered and frustrated. Pepin was forced to become a monk in the monastery of Prüm. Two years later, Charlemagne found it necessary to make Thassilo leave once more the quiet of his cloister and appear in public, and to bring the ex-duke to a declaration which was intended to remove all objections that might be alleged against the legality of what had been done at Ingelheim in 788. One feels inclined to connect this fact with the previous disturbances in Bavaria. For assuredly it was no mere act of self-humiliation and confession when in 794 Thassilo appeared in his monk's cowl at Frankfort before a diet summoned by Charlemagne and asked pardon for the wrong which he had committed against the Franks and their king, and declared himself ready to sincerely forgive

and forget all that had been done to him, and expressly and voluntarily renounced all claims that he and his family might have to the dukedom of Bavaria or the family estates of the Agilolfings. This declaration was no doubt instigated by Charlemagne, and, on the other hand, was probably forced from the captive duke by the stern ecclesiastical discipline, both spiritual and temporal, which could be enforced against a monk. Henceforth we hear no more of hopes on the part of the Bavarians for the restoration of their independence.

A result of the deposition of Thassilo was a war between Charlemagne and the Avars, whom the duke had summoned to his aid. This at first was only a defensive one, waged in order to protect the southeastern border against their robber-bands. The Avars had settled in the district once occupied by the Huns, and extending from the middle Danube to the Black Sea and the Caspian. They were divided into numerous clans, each under its own chief, and were only loosely bound together by means of a supreme prince. Their mobile squadrons of horse from time to time spread devastation and terror far and wide. In 788 the Bavarians under Gerold repelled an invasion of the Avars. As the latter then had reason to fear an attack from the Franks, they resorted to negotiations. In 790 an embassy appeared before the king; but the two parties separated without coming to an agreement. In 791 Charlemagne made his first great campaign against these new enemies. The Lombard forces, under King Pepin, invaded the country of the Avars from the south, and stormed one of their camps, which were surrounded by circular earth-works. Meantime Charlemagne, with the main army, marched down the Danube, and pitched an immense camp at its confluence with the Raab. At the same time a third Frankish army, to which had been assigned the contingents from Thuringia, Friesland, and Saxony, invaded the country from the north, through Bohemia. The Avars withdrew in terror into their pathless steppes. It appears that what Charlemagne learned of the country and people of the Avars during his two months' stay convinced him that no success could be attained by such means. He saw that here too the Christian civilization must be extended by force, and these fierce tribes of horsemen be gradually brought to a stationary and peaceable mode of life. Not until this was accomplished would the Frankish border be safe. Accordingly, no later than 793 he planned a new expedition against the Avars. In Ratisbon were collected the vessels and tackle necessary for building a bridge of boats, so that the army might not be hindered in the pursuit of the enemy by the

numerous rivers. About the same time and in connection with these plans originated the idea of establishing a waterway from the Rhine to the Danube, by constructing a navigable canal from the Altmühl, which flows into the Danube, to the Swabian Rezat, from which one could then reach the Main by way of the Rednitz. This waterway would have united the southeastern border-country with the heart of the empire, and promised to be also of great military advantage. The project, however, was not carried out, or, at all events, only in part. The cause of its failure was probably not so much insuperable technical difficulties as the course which the war with the Avars took in the following years.

Charlemagne himself never took the field against them again. The unexpected outbreak of a new revolt among the Saxons hindered him from making the invasion of the country of the Avars which he had planned for the year 793. In subsequent years, also, he was occupied with other cares. Hence he left the work of carrying on the war to his son, King Pepin, who by repeated invasions won for the Franks the country between the Enns and the Raab, and organized it as a border-march. Pepin also terrified the Avars by penetrating deep into the interior of their land, and finally by a bold raid stormed and destroyed their principal camp between the Danube and the Theiss. These expeditions against the Avars had an especial charm for the Franks, because of the rich booty which they brought home. They found the spoils of ages collected in the Avars' camps: gold and silver and much splendid furniture which this race of robbers had gathered during their plundering incursions. Part of these treasures Charlemagne sent to Rome in order to give the church, to extend the power of which the war had been undertaken, a share in the enjoyment of the recent victories. So far as is known, the Avars did not, either then or in subsequent times, assemble in great armies and attempt serious resistance. The weak ties which held the people together were entirely dissolved by the unsuccessful contest with the Franks. Some of the chiefs made peace with the conqueror and accepted Christianity. Between others there arose quarrels, in which several clans were exterminated. The systematic repetition of the Frankish invasions not only gradually ruined the country, but also destroyed the people. After a war of eight years the eastern march on the Raab might be considered safe, as the adjoining country had been entirely depopulated, and even where the immense camp of the Great Khan had once stood not a trace of a human habitation was to be seen. But thanks to the

far-sighted policy of Charlemagne and his genius for ecclesiastical and administrative organization, here also the vital germs of a new and higher civilization rapidly developed. The influence of the change was soon felt far to the southeast, and finally reached the western offshoots of the Byzantine civilization. When Einhard sets the war with the Avars on the same plane with the long struggle against the Saxons, he cannot have had in view the duration of the two nor the energy of the resistance, but must have been thinking of the extent of territory opened to the Franks and the important consequences of both wars for the history of civilization. The war between the Franks and Avars was not one of races and religions, such as that against the Saxons finally became.

The pacification of Saxony was again to require the strong hand of the sovereign. The years of peace which had followed the bloody suppression of the last general revolt had not yet fully reconciled the Saxons to their destiny. Externally the conversion of the people had certainly made progress; but inwardly the great mass of the Saxons were as hostile as ever to the God of the Christians and his priests. The longing for the old order of things became more vehement the more firmly people believed that Charlemagne was busy at a great distance and thought themselves safe from his sudden appearance. Accordingly, a favorable time seemed to have arrived with the war against the Avars. The mighty preparations which were made for carrying it on in 793 might well give the Saxons the idea that the whole strength of the kingdom was engaged in the far southeast. Perhaps they also had tidings of reverses that the Franks had encountered in the southwest, where the Arabs soon afterward appeared again north of the Pyrenees and advanced as far as Narbonne. In midsummer, 793, the signal for the revolt was given by a sudden attack upon a detachment of Franks which was descending the Elbe. In this case also the rebellion seems to have been preconcerted with other enemies of Charlemagne—the Avars too are mentioned among these—and several tribes of the Frieslanders joined it. The blow successfully dealt at one point aroused even those districts which, without it, would have remained in their allegiance. The rigor of the Frankish military service seems to have especially increased the dissatisfaction; and when the popular hatred had once found vent, it sought to remove all ground for future complaints by flinging off the Frankish yoke. The uprising was soon general; once more the Christian priests were obliged to save themselves from the murderous hands of the apostate

heathen by hasty flight. The newly erected churches and chapels were again burned. It appears that Charlemagne was really taken by surprise; and the calculations of the Saxons proved in so far correct, that he could not make any serious attempt to suppress the revolt in 793. In the following year two Frankish armies invaded Saxony, one under Charlemagne himself, and the other commanded by a son, who also bore the name of Charles. The western insurgents were reduced to subjection. In Eastphalia, on the contrary, the insurrection was still maintained. For its suppression Charlemagne summoned to his aid against the summer of 795 the Abodriti, who had long been in alliance with him. That people, who lived on the other side of the Elbe in the district afterward called Mecklenburg, were to attack the Saxons in the rear. This they accordingly did, but were prevented by the death of their prince, who was killed in a fight at the passage of the Elbe, from joining Charlemagne as they had intended. The latter advanced into the Bardengau and encamped near Bardewiek, which was no doubt already an important trading-station. When, after thoroughly ravaging the country, he began his return, he took with him about 7000 Saxons in order to settle them in the heart of the Frankish kingdom. There, in the midst of the old population, they soon lost their national characteristics, and were obliged to forget their former freedom and their ancestral gods. In their stead numerous Frankish colonists emigrated to the half-depopulated districts, and paved the way for a gradual blending of the Saxons and Franks by marrying women of the country. These occurrences were repeated in the following years, in which the king advanced, laying waste the land as far as the districts of the Friesians on the North Sea. The Saxons' power of resistance seemed at last overcome; from all quarters they thronged to the king's camp, and furnished the numerous hostages that were demanded. The process which had been begun in 795 on a limited scale was now continued on a large one. Every third man was compelled to leave his native soil, and move westward with his wife and children to settle among the Franks; while enough of the latter were sent out to Saxony to fill the places thus made vacant.

The new conquest of Westphalia, Eastphalia, and Engern was indicated by the appearance of the nobles of those districts at the diet which Charlemagne convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle at the end of October, 797. With their co-operation a capitulary was issued there which introduced the Frankish system of fines for the violation of the "king's peace." Thus the first step toward abolishing the com-

mon law of the ancient Saxons was taken, while on the other hand many of the severe ordinances of 782 were annulled. But all Saxons who remained in heathenism were still subject to the death-penalty; though they might obtain mercy from the king by allowing themselves to be baptized, and settling with their families in other parts of the kingdom. The execution of this simple but cruel law was begun energetically the very next winter, when Charlemagne led an army into Saxony. Its ultimate result was necessarily the destruction of the Saxon nationality, not to mention the inhuman severity which was shown in some cases. Many Saxons, when given the choice between being carried away to a foreign land, and dying a hero's death on their native soil, chose the latter. In Nordalbingia first sprang up a revolt which cost the lives of the king's officers; and on hearing of this, the people rose in Eastphalia and Engern. But Charlemagne promptly appeared in the revolted districts, which were chastised with fire and sword. Again bands of Saxons condemned to deportation began their sad journey to the West. The Nordalbingians beyond the Elbe still persisted in their resistance. Charlemagne again called in against them the Slavic Abodriti, who, with the aid of Frankish troops, defeated them near the modern Kiel. To suppress the last spasmodic symptoms of the revolt, Charlemagne appeared in 799 with forces overwhelmingly superior. Even from distant Aquitania his son, King Louis, was forced to bring re-enforcements. While Prince Charles marched farther to the northeast, and subdued the Nordalbingians, he himself at Paderborn arranged the affairs of the country by removing, under the show of clemency, all suspected persons, and replacing them with Frankish immigrants. Einhard estimates the Saxon families thus conveyed to a foreign country at 10,000, and this number is probably below the real one. The exhaustion of a thirty years' struggle against foreign supremacy, the intermingling with the Frankish settlers who thronged to Saxony in ever-increasing numbers, the castles occupied by veteran garrisons, and the threatening proximity of the Abodriti, and other Slavic peoples, allied with Charlemagne, deprived the Saxons of all desire for a new revolt, and compelled them to submit to the inevitable. Only in isolated cases did a district afterwards revolt. The land remained quiet; and the Frankish sovereignty and the Christian religion struck firm root in the stubborn soil, which had been watered with blood to prepare it for their reception.



Map.—Europe in the reign of Charlemagne.

The conquest of Saxony is historically of incalculable importance. For now the German peoples were, for the first time, all united in one great political whole. (See PLATE III., Map of Europe in the Reign of Charlemagne.) Now for the first time the Germans were strong enough to maintain their national peculiarities of custom and speech, government and law, as an inalienable right, against the influence of the superior Roman and Christian civilization. The Saxons, especially, found in this national character a never-failing source of the strength which they required in order to defend themselves against the Slavic peoples that pressed upon them from the east; nay, more, in a conflict that lasted almost without interruption for a century, they were enabled to drive these greedy enemies back farther and farther, and to bring them by force under the beneficent influence of Christianity and German civilization.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RESTORATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE BY CHARLEMAGNE.

(A.D. 800-814.)

IF we pass in review the wars that Charlemagne waged in the first thirty years of his reign, we may divide them, according to their cause and character, into two classes. In those of the one class the political element preponderates, while those of the other were distinctively religious wars. In Aquitania, in Lombardy, and in Bavaria, definite political objects were at stake which had nothing to do with ecclesiastical hostilities. On the other hand, in the struggle with the Saxons, the border fights with the Arabs in the Pyrenean peninsula, and the raids against the Avars on the Danube, it was not merely a question of preserving and extending the Frankish domains, but at the same time of the propagation of Christianity, or at least the diminution of heathenism. But although those wars principally affected the internal condition and progressive enlargement of the Frankish empire, yet they, in an especial degree, altered its position toward other nations, and increased its importance for the government of the whole West. Charlemagne and his Franks came to be regarded more and more as the appointed champions of Christianity and civilization.

In the southwest Charlemagne's plans had at first been unsuccessful. His expedition beyond the Pyrenees, in 778, had not checked the power of the Arabs. His *protégé*, Ibn al-Arabi, had succumbed to Calif Abd-er-Rahman of Cordova, and Aquitania protected itself only with difficulty from this dangerous foe. It appears that in that quarter a petty but bitter war was carried on year after year. This conflict revealed the mixture of wild chivalry and fierce religious zeal which characterized the population of that region even in later times, and was of less importance for history than for its influence on the traditions and poetry of the two peoples. In 793, about the same time when the Saxons again took up arms, the Moslems advanced as far as Narbonne, and defeated the valiant Count William in the vicinity of Carcassonne.

This reverse led to a more methodical organization of the Frankish system of defence in that quarter. In 795 was established the Spanish March, which was intended to shield the southeastern foot of the Pyrenees, and bar to the enemy the easiest way to Aquitania. Apparently the March was originally bounded by the course of the Ter, on which Gerona had been won from the Arabs ten years before. It stretched toward the west by way of Vich and Cardona, so that it included the mountain country on the upper course of the Llobegrat, and ran from that district to the valley of the Segre, taking in the strong fortress of Urgel. It then followed the plain of Aragon, through which the Ebro flows, along its northern border as far as Pamplona and the country of the Basques.

The hostility of the Franks to the Omayyads of Cordova won them the friendship of the rival Mohammedan dynasty, the Abbasides, who from Bagdad ruled the East. Accordingly their representative at the time, the illustrious Harun-al-Rashid, despatched to Charlemagne an embassy with costly presents. This was in effect the recognition of his position as representative and ruler of the Occident. A further seal was soon to be placed upon this proud title by the voluntary action of the papacy.

Toward the end of the year 795, Pope Adrian I. died. In spite of all the reverence that he showed to the protector of the church, he had striven unceasingly during his long pontificate to preserve his independence, and to make it entirely secure by bringing the cities and districts that had once been promised to the church really into its possession, and thus organizing the Papal State. At the same time he also strove, in the domains which actually fell to the church, to cause the supremacy of the king of the Franks to be forgotten as far as possible, and to acquire for himself the rights derived from that supremacy. This produced numerous disagreements between the pope and the king, which never, it is true, led to serious conflicts, but which, notwithstanding, contained the germs of those opposing principles that afterward made the papacy and the empire hostile to each other. But the church could not as yet dispense with Charlemagne's strong protection, especially as the neighboring Lombard dukedoms could not be trusted. Even Gri-moald of Benevento had afterwards broken the faith that he had at first kept; and the expedition which Kings Pepin and Louis undertook against him in 791, at their father's bidding, was without result.

The endeavors of the pope to make his temporal sovereignty independent of the king of the Franks, had a remarkable counterpart in Charlemagne's attempt to exercise the functions of champion and protector of the church, which at first had been purely temporal, in regard to ecclesiastical, and even doctrinal, questions. The king cited two Spanish bishops, who had given offence by heretical doctrines, before synods of his Frankish bishops, compelled Felix of Urgel, who appeared as his subject, to a recantation, and sent him to Rome to repeat it there. Even in regard to the question of image-worship, Charlemagne and the assembled ecclesiastics of his realm gave in 794 at Frankfort a decision which did not accord with the decree of the Nicene synod of 787, which had been approved by the pope. The acceptance of the king's decision was demanded of the Roman church, and the danger to their harmony was averted only by interpreting a word in a manner which gave color to the views of both. It is not to be supposed that Charlemagne had plans which if realized would have resulted in an unwholesome mixture of the highest religious and the highest temporal power, like that which then existed in the Byzantine empire, to the detriment of both church and state. On the contrary, his conduct is merely a proof of the frank and simple zeal with which he purposed to fulfil at all times and places what, as he thought, were his duties toward the church. It is as though he was led on by a vague, quasi-instinctive impulse, and already felt himself emperor. He lacked only the name and insignia of that office; in all that was real and essential the empire already existed. What was still wanting for his formal establishment and recognition was of comparatively slight importance, and might be quickly supplied by some outward occasion.

In this connection the unusual fashion in which Adrian's successor, Leo III. (795-818), recognized Charlemagne's protectorship, and enlarged its scope by impressive symbolical ceremonies, appears full of significance. The ambassadors who announced to the king Leo's elevation to the papal chair delivered to him, together with other presents, the banner of the city of Rome and the keys of its holiest shrine, the grave of St. Peter. At the same time they invited him to accept through a plenipotentiary the oath of fidelity and allegiance from the people of Rome. This was more than Adrian had done; but it may be inferred from subsequent events, that from the very outset Leo III. found himself in an insecure posi-

tion, and had to fear the hostility of an opposing faction, — whether civil or ecclesiastical, — against which he wished to insure himself of the most effective support. In this extraordinary act of homage may even be seen an acknowledgment of the right and duty of guarding purity of doctrine in the church, which Charlemagne had exercised not long before at Frankfort. Accordingly the king in his return missive defined his own attitude toward the church of Christ by stating that it was his duty to defend that church outwardly by his authority against the assaults of the heathen, and inwardly by the maintenance of the Catholic faith. By his direction Angilbert then went to Rome, received the oath from the people, and accepted the solemn declarations by which the pope, contrary to the policy of his predecessor, acknowledged the temporal supremacy of the king of the Franks over the city of Rome, its domain, and the whole exarchate. Rome and the Papal State were thus in the most unmistakable manner designated as parts of the Frankish monarchy, and the grants made by Charlemagne and Pepin were temporarily deprived of the political significance which the Roman See had lately tried to attach to them. That this was intended to be a political act, by means of which the relation between the Frankish monarchy and the church were to be arranged on a new basis, is proved also by the splendid monument which Leo III. took pains to rear as a memorial of the reconciliation which then took place. Out of the liberal share of the spoil of the Avars, which Charlemagne had granted to the church, the pope had a great mosaic constructed, and placed in the dining-hall of the Lateran palace, in order to glorify the new alliance between the temporal and spiritual powers. In the centre was represented the Saviour as he sent his apostles into all the world to proclaim the gospel. On the left he was depicted seated on the throne in the act of delivering to Pope Silvester the keys, and to the Emperor Constantine the standard. On the right was St. Peter handing to Leo III. the papal stole, and to King Charlemagne the standard (Fig. 5). The original mosaic was destroyed under Clement XII. (1730–40); but an imitation of it, which has been restored from old drawings, still exists in the Tribune erected by Benedict XIV. (1740–58), which is near the Scala Santa in Rome. Charlemagne was therefore placed beside Constantine the Great; the temporal power was put on an equality with the spiritual, and, like the latter, was ascribed to a direct interposition of God.



FIG. 5. — Mosaic from the triclinium of Pope Leo III. in the Lateran, Rome. It represents St. Peter giving a stole to the pope, and a banner to Charlemagne.

The crisis which Leo II. (Fig. 6) had apprehended when he entered into these new relations with the Frankish monarchy really came, and proved more disastrous and humiliating for him than he could have expected. The instigators and ringleaders in it were men who had gained influence as relatives of the pope, or in some other fashion, and had been prominent under Adrian I. Yet political hatreds as well as personal motives may have helped to produce it, in so far as the subjection of the Eternal City to the king of the Franks created dissatisfaction in those very circles which had previously held control there. On April 25, 799, when Leo III. was returning in solemn procession to the Lateran, after celebrating high mass in the church of St. Laurence in Lucina, he was attacked by the rioters, who were headed by Paschal, a nephew of Adrian. The pope was thrown to the ground, stripped of his papal robes, and maltreated. According



FIG. 6. — Denarius, issued in common by Charlemagne and Pope Leo III. Obv. Legend: CARLVS. In the field IMPERATOR in monogram. Rev.: SCS (Sanctus) PETRVS. In the field LEO PAPA in monogram. Silver.

to the legend, the monsters wished to deprive him of his eyes and tongue, but did not finish their bloody work, and brought the severely injured man, who at first had lain on the street as if dead, into a monastery as a prisoner. From this place he escaped by night, and fled for refuge to St. Peter's, where he placed himself under the protection of Charlemagne's ambassadors, who happened to be there just at that time. They are said to have been Abbot Wirund of Stablo, and Duke Winigis of Spoleto. Leo was escorted by them to Spoleto, and from that city began his long journey to Germany, in order to ask in person the protection of its powerful monarch. The pope was obliged to go far into Saxony, which had then just been reconquered, in order to reach Charlemagne's camp. He found the king in Paderborn, in the midst of his army, and was received by him with the greatest honor. The warriors welcomed the new-comer with loud shouts and the joyful clashing of weapons. The two heads of Christendom united in joyous feasts with the

spiritual and temporal magnates of court and camp; but with these merry-makings alternated serious deliberations, at which the measures which must be adopted to restore order in the Eternal City were discussed with a few confidants. For it appears that the case was not entirely simple, and the conduct of Leo's opponents in Rome shows clearly that they were able to bring against the fugitive pope grave charges, by means of which they themselves hoped to be justified in the eyes of Charlemagne. Alcuin, too, advised the king to act with caution and leniency; otherwise a judicial interference of the king of the Franks might easily prove fatal to the station of the bishop of Rome.

Leo III. is said to have consecrated the altar of the church in Paderborn, and to have presented it with relics; it is related that he also consecrated the newly erected church of St. Peter in Eresburg. In the autumn of 799 he set out on his return journey to Italy at the bidding of the king, who intended to follow later. The pope was escorted by the archbishops Hildibald of Cologne (785–819) and Arno of Salzburg (798–829), and several bishops and counts. His opponents in Rome made no resistance. He entered the city without any hindrance, at the end of November, 799, and resumed possession of the papal authority. The leaders of the rebellion were arrested, and sent to Charlemagne to await his further pleasure. The king demanded of them evidence of the heavy charges brought against the pope, but in vain. The final decision of the matter was postponed until Charlemagne's arrival in Italy.

This did not take place until almost a year had elapsed. That for which the way had been paved for nearly half a century by the gradual development of the relation between the new Frankish dynasty and the Church, was now to be gloriously consummated. All that was still lacking was the name suited to the situation, and the proper form for expressing it. And even then there was scarcely any doubt as to what this name should be, and how this form should be provided. It followed as a logical consequence of all that had preceded, that he who had hitherto been the patron and protector of the church should be crowned Emperor of Rome. The pope himself had wished, by the mosaic in the Lateran, to set the king of the Franks before posterity as the successor of Constantine. But also — and this was almost of greater weight — the idea of a re-establishment of the Roman empire was no longer strange to Charlemagne and his ministers. There are many traces that indicate that

just at that time it was actively discussed. The civilization which the scholars who assembled at Charlemagne's court represented, and which they wished to make the common property of the higher circles of the Frankish nation, was thoroughly Roman. People had become familiar, not merely with the classical literature of the Roman empire, but also with the general political ideas which had prevailed during that period. The "Roman empire" was considered the aptest expression for the sum of all earthly power. All firmly believed that this power belonged to Charlemagne; since as protector and champion he presided over the church, which was destined to conquer not merely the realm that once belonged to the Romans, but the entire earth. Hence Charlemagne was honored as having a mission to rule over the whole world. For his royal authority, by means of which Christ had made him the leader of Christendom, a higher rank and a greater power were claimed than for the successor of Peter on the one hand, or the degraded Byzantine empire on the other. The whole of Christendom was claimed as Charlemagne's domain; and for him the title of emperor was the only proper appellation. If the leading personages of his court and kingdom cherished such ideas, and were guided by them in their policy, the view that Charlemagne's coronation as emperor was a reward granted him by the pope for his services to the church, although he had not asked for it, or had even modestly refused it, and that the transaction was one-sided, or perhaps even unexpected by the king, is entirely untenable. It is much more probable that the resolve to re-establish the Roman empire was formed by Charlemagne himself independently, and not from a suggestion made by the pope at the last moment; that this resolve had already been taken when the king followed Leo to Rome, and that the fulfilment of this purpose was the object for which Charlemagne then made the journey to the Eternal City. How the restoration of the imperial office was to be carried out in detail, and with what ceremonial the decision that had already been made was to be executed, may have remained doubtful. There is no intimation that the co-operation of the church was deemed indispensable. On the contrary, Charlemagne can scarcely have intended to receive the imperial crown, which was claimed to be the only appropriate symbol of the power that he actually exercised, as a gift of the church from the hand of the pope. This is the only way in which one can understand the statement of the worthy Einhard, that Charlemagne afterwards declared that if he

had known the pope's intention beforehand, he would never have set foot in the church, in spite of the fact that it was a high festival. This certainly does not mean that Charlemagne was unwilling to be emperor, and in accepting the title only acquiesced in an act already completed by the pope by means of a surprise. In the case of a measure of such importance a surprise would not have been possible. Moreover, the currency that the idea of emperor had already gained at the Frankish court, and the independence with which men high in the king's favor discussed it, are opposed to such a view. There was no precedent for the coronation of a Roman emperor; and to allow that dignity to be conferred by virtue of another authority, which was thereby admitted to be theoretically superior, was contrary to the idea and the nature of the Roman 'Imperium,' as well as to those of the 'Imperium' as the age of Charlemagne conceived it. To allow the imperial crown to be given him by the pope, who only a few years before had been forced to acknowledge his authority in the most unmistakable way, was for Charlemagne nothing less than at once to retrace half the forward step in the world's history that he took in receiving the imperial power. It was to create in the dignity which was intended to be the glorious consummation of a career without parallel a rift which would necessarily prove fatal to it. Hence we may assume that when Charlemagne appeared in the Eternal City, in November, 800, he had determined to exchange the patriciate, which had reference only to Rome, for the imperial office, which included within its scope the whole Christian world. At all events, Alcuin sent him at that time a costly Bible, which was intended, it was said, to help in adding glory to the imperial power. That Charlemagne had not intended to allow himself to be crowned by the pope is also clear from the events that immediately followed his arrival in Rome, and the part that the pope played in them.

On Charlemagne's arrival, Leo III., with the most eminent Romans, hastened as far as Nomentum, the modern Mentana, to meet and welcome him. The pope bade him welcome to the city in still more solemn manner on November 24. The various corporations of Rome and crowds of citizens marched to meet him, carrying the civic banners, and singing songs in his honor. At the top of the marble steps leading up to St. Peter's, the pope, surrounded by the bishops and all the clergy, received him, and escorted him into the church. A week was then spent in further negotiations, and in investigating the affair of April 25, 799. Apparently Leo's opponents persisted

in their heavy accusations against him. On December 1, Charlemagne convened the dignitaries of the church and the temporal nobles in St. Peter's in a synod, which the common people were permitted to reverently witness. The king first stated the reasons that had led him to come to Rome. The rest of the daily sessions were devoted to arranging the business to which he had alluded. First came the most difficult and important matter, the refutation of the charges brought against Leo by his imprisoned opponents. How the investigation was conducted, or whether any procedure which can be called an investigation took place at all, cannot be determined with certainty. Apparently the plaintiffs declined to maintain their charges formally; they could not expect success, as the relations between Leo and the king were so friendly. However, it was considered highly advisable, in the interests of the papal dignity, that Leo should disarm all suspicion by a solemn oath of exculpation, and so silence his adversaries for all time. On November 23 he mounted the pulpit before the assembled synod, and, holding a copy of the Gospels above his head, swore before the grave of St. Peter, and with invo-



FIG. 7. — From an Evangelary of Charlemagne. Paris, National Library.¹

¹ This Evangelary was prepared in 781-783, by order of Charlemagne and his wife Hildegard, by the scribe Godescalc. The letters on this page are painted in gold and silver upon purple parchment, and read IN ILLO TEMPORE.

cation of the Trinity, a 'voluntary' oath before God that he was innocent of the crime that was laid to his charge, since he had neither committed it nor caused others to commit it. The singing of the "Te Deum," in which the whole assembly joyfully united, closed this extraordinary proceeding. The pope did not fail to explain on this occasion that he had acted entirely of his own free will, and that no obligation for any of his successors or another bishop to do likewise could be derived from his conduct.

On the same day happened an event insignificant in itself, but yet adapted to make a deep impression at the moment when the transference of the imperial crown to the king of the Franks as a symbol of the dominion over all Christendom was in question. A priest named Zacharias, whom Charlemagne had sent to the Holy Land a year before, arrived in Rome with two monks sent to accompany him by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and delivered to the king the keys, not merely of the city of Jerusalem, but also of the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Calvary, and Mount Zion, besides the banner of the Holy City. In the same symbolical way in which Rome had once done homage to his power, Charlemagne now took possession of the city which had been the source of Christianity. Henceforth he was not merely the protector of the Roman Church, but the defender of all who held the Christian faith. It may be that it was this occurrence which led Leo III. to the resolve that he executed three days later.

On December 25, Charlemagne, accompanied by the nobles and dignitaries of the court, was attending a mass in St. Peter's, which was filled with a throng of worshippers. As he was praying at the altar after the mass, the pope unexpectedly approached him, and placed a golden crown on his head: at which the Romans broke into the joyous cry, "Life and victory to Charlemagne Augustus, the great Emperor of the Romans, who brings us peace!" This form of greeting shows that the people who were present were aware of the pope's intention, and gives reason for the inference that Leo had prearranged the coronation with the leading nobles and citizens of Rome. Then the pope did homage to the new emperor by falling at his feet: and anointed and crowned his eldest son, Charles, king. Charlemagne, on his part, testified his gratitude by costly presents, which he offered to St. Peter's and other churches of the Eternal City. Later the opponents of Leo were obliged to appear before the king's judgment-seat, and were condemned to death for high-

treason; but at Leo's request Charlemagne commuted the sentence to banishment beyond the Alps. The emperor remained at Rome engaged in arranging affairs of church and state, while his son, Pepin, undertook an expedition against the Duke of Benevento, but, as it seems, without accomplishing anything. After the Easter festival of 801, the emperor returned to his Frankish kingdom, for the internal administration of which important results followed from the assumption of the imperial dignity. On the way he received between Ivrea and Vercelli the embassy of Harun-al-Rashid which announced the impending arrival of the presents. These gifts (Fig. 8) did not reach Aix-la-Chapelle until a year later. The present that excited most admiration was an elephant, which bore the name of Abul Abbas.

Charlemagne had worn the Frankish crown for thirty-two years and that of the Lombard kingdom for twenty-eight before he added to both the diadem of emperor. The latter, to be sure, brought with it no new provinces; but by virtue of the idea that it symbolized, it united all the lands over which he ruled into a new whole. To express this new unity, a more complete organization of the Carolingian state was requisite. This phase of Charlemagne's activity therefore became more prominent than it had been before. In him the military conqueror gave place more and more to the wise statesman and beneficent ruler. Charlemagne had the highest conception of the duties that had been imposed upon him with the imperial office; but he also believed that he now possessed greater rights over his subject peoples. Hence he felt himself free to act more at liberty, to be more thorough-going in his new regulations, and to strive after greater uniformity. The change which had taken place in his office and his policy found definite expression in the requirement that all his subjects should renew to the emperor in 802 the oath of fealty that they had previously taken to him as king. All those over twelve years of age who had never sworn allegiance to him before were also required to take the oath. The officials who were commissioned to administer the oath were under obligation to explain its deep significance to all subjects of the empire. Not only were these to bind themselves to remain loyal to Charlemagne as long as they lived, to bring no enemy into the country, to support or conceal no treason planned by others, but a whole series of religious, moral, and civil duties was added as a consequence of the higher position which their ruler had attained as

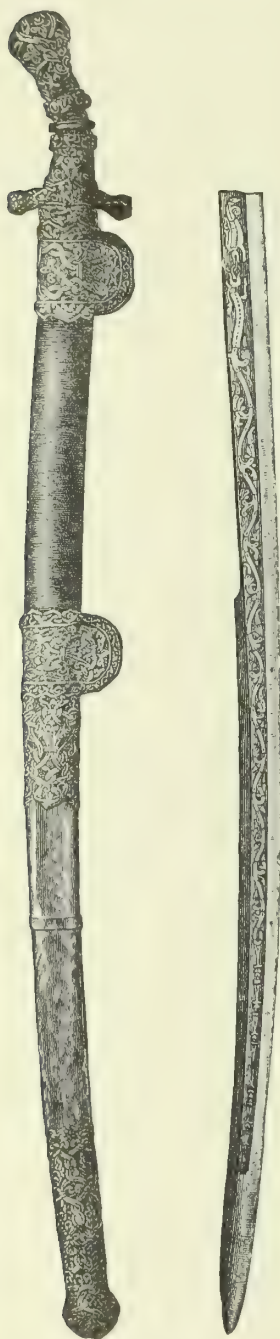


FIG. 8. — Charlemagne's sword.
Gift of Harun-al-Rashid. In
the Cathedral of Aix-la-Cha-
pelle.

emperor. Accordingly Charlemagne at this time caused a kind of ecclesiastical law-book to be compiled from the acts of the councils and the decrees of the popes, and instituted a revision of the old national laws according to which the different peoples in his realm lived.

The following years were not entirely free from war, although the emperor seems to have had less personal share in military transactions. But none of the undertakings belonging to this period can be placed on the same level with those by which the supremacy of the Frankish empire had been established. All that now remained was to complete the great results of the former wars, and insure their permanence for the future. First of all, the last remnants of opposition in Saxony must be crushed. How this opposition had manifested itself of late is unknown; but it is certain that severe measures were still required in order to secure absolute obedience. The disturbance was, however, probably confined to a few districts, and Charlemagne was even able to use Saxon troops to chastise the rebels. In 802, at his command, the Nordalbingians were invaded by their own countrymen who lived south of the Elbe. Two years later the emperor took the field once more against revolted Saxons. He commanded an immense army which had gathered at Lippspringe, and to which even King Louis, from distant Aquitania, had been summoned. Evidently the intention was to strike a blow which should end the Saxon question at once and forever. Charlemagne marched northward through the country from Lipp-

springe, after crossing the Aller, until he reached the Elbe. He encamped at Hollenstädt, south of Harburg. From this place the Franks made raids into the rebellious districts, which were not only chastised with fire and sword, but were actually depopulated. All the inhabitants, men, women, and children (according to Einhard 10,000 men), were carried away prisoners, and planted far from their homes in different parts of the empire. The Nordalbingians met a similar fate, or even a worse one; for in their case the dread mandate was executed not by the Franks, but by the Abodriti, whose prince, Drosuch, appeared at Charlemagne's court, was made supreme ruler of all the Abodriti, and received the Saxon cantons beyond the Elbe for his own. One can easily imagine how these Slavic intruders behaved in the German border-country, which they had hitherto attacked in vain. They soon became troublesome and dangerous neighbors to the Frankish empire also.

We find in our authorities clear indications of the ruthlessness and cruelty with which the removal of the last defenders of Saxon freedom was carried out. According to modern ideas, Charlemagne's conduct was barbarous and inhuman. But men of that day thought otherwise; and they took less offence at what had been done because the action seemed to them not merely a political and national necessity, but also a religious one. Charlemagne was the child of his age, and it is wrong to reproach him for conduct which was fully in accord with the spirit of the time. In such periods of transition we often find side by side contrasts which seem utterly irreconcilable. Thus while Charlemagne extirpated with ruthless severity everything in Saxony that could hinder the final triumph of Christianity, he carefully cherished and nurtured the beginnings of his new colony there. In order that the Saxons might soon be confirmed in the Christian faith by priests of their own race, he consigned many young Saxons (often scions of noble families) to Frankish monasteries, where they were to be brought up as monks. Many of them were placed under the care of the emperor's cousin, Abbot Adalhard, in the cloister of Corbie, on the Somme. One of the oldest and most deserving of the Saxon monasteries, Corvei, was afterwards founded by monks from Corbie.

The Saxons' power of resistance was at last completely broken. We hear no more of opposition or rebellion. The fortunate termination of the Saxon war was immediately followed by conflicts of the Franks with the Wends and the aggressive Danes.

To protect himself against a Frankish invasion, King Gotfried of Denmark caused his army to throw up in southern Jutland a wall of earth extending across the peninsula from sea to sea. In the wall only a single gateway was constructed. This fortification is the so-called 'Danewerk,' the course of which can still be traced in many places. After Gotfried's death, in 810, his nephew, Henning, concluded a peace (811) which acknowledged the Trave as the boundary of the two kingdoms.

It was found necessary to carry on similar wars to protect the other boundaries of the empire; for a commotion, caused by the intensification of national and religious hostility which followed the ominous growth of the Frankish monarchy, went through the entire body of Slavic peoples, who in the period of the Great Migrations had taken possession of the eastern countries vacated by the German tribes. While the petty war along the Elbe went on, Charlemagne was obliged, in 805 and 806, to order a great expedition to be made against the Czechs (Bohemians). These had at first been on friendly terms with him, but had now taken sides with his enemies. Apparently no great success was achieved in Bohemia; although the Frankish armies which invaded it from different quarters united on the banks of the Eger, and penetrated beyond the Elbe into the interior of the country. The Slavs of the southeast were also troublesome, though the Frankish power made gradual progress among them. The tireless efforts of Archbishop Arno of Salzburg did much to promote the adoption of Christianity in those regions. Salzburg was also the starting-point from which similar efforts were made in the land of the Avars. Charlemagne tried to re-establish a better system of government among this people by making all the petty chiefs subordinate to one head, according to their ancient custom. This head was appointed from the chiefs who had gone over to Christianity, and was, of course, regarded as Charlemagne's vassal. The emperor caused all disputes that arose between the princes and tribes to be decided by his own plenipotentiaries. The Avars gradually disappeared, as they were surrounded and intersected by numerous Slavic tribes which extended themselves at their expense.

On the other hand, Charlemagne's success against the Moslems remained but slight. In the last years of his reign the fortune of war varied very much: and as the scale turned this way or that, the possessions of each party in Spain increased or diminished. In 810

the Franks obtained permanent control of the important city of Barcelona, which had once before temporarily yielded to their authority. They found the lack of an adequate fleet a great hindrance in this war, for their adversaries made the sea as well as the land the scene of their warfare (cf. Fig. 9). Hence in 810 the Christians were obliged permanently to abandon Corsica, which they had held for several years, to the Moslems. The latter then obtained foothold in Sardinia also, and thus became a source of constant danger to the coast of Italy. On the mainland, however, there was a cessation



FIG. 9. — A Ninth Century Ship. (From a miniature in a manuscript now in the National Library at Paris.)

of hostilities in 812, a three-years' truce being concluded between Charlemagne and Hakem, the ruler of Cordova.

The most important change produced by Charlemagne's acquisition of the imperial crown was in his relation to the Byzantine empire. That decrepit, but still haughty power regarded with unconcealed scorn and hostility the assumption by a Frankish upstart of the chair of Augustus.

Charlemagne, who, during the years that immediately preceded, had been on friendly terms with Byzantium, now strove to avert

the impending rupture, and to come to an understanding with the rulers of the Eastern empire.

The plans by which Charlemagne, in concert with the pope, hoped to remove this difficulty, and make his own imperial authority secure against all objections, seem almost chimerical. It was a question of nothing less, than the union of the Frankish empire with the Byzantine, i.e., the complete re-establishment of one undivided Roman empire. There is good reason for supposing that the considerations which made such an undertaking seem advisable and practicable were rather religious than political. People believed that they could restore, at the same time with the unity of the Roman empire, that of the church. Charlemagne always allowed religious interests to have much influence in determining his course of policy, and regarded himself as the representative of the ideas which he had grasped. It was, therefore, quite natural that he thought of removing the political and religious difficulties with Byzantium, which threatened to arise from the renewal of the Western empire, by marrying the Empress Irene, the patroness of image worship, becoming emperor of the East as well as of the West, and thus restoring the civil and religious unity of the Christian world. Accordingly he sent to Constantinople, with Leo, the Spatharius (one of the dignitaries of the Byzantine empire, who, at that time, appeared at his court with renewed proposals of peace), Bishop Jesse of Amiens, and Count Helmgaud, with a letter of introduction from the pope, to ask for the hand of Irene. Before a decision was reached, even before the Frankish ambassadors left Constantinople, on October 31, 802, a court-revolution took place in the city, which overthrew Irene, and forced her to exchange the throne for a convent. The state treasurer, Nicephorus, who was raised to power in her stead, sued, to be sure, for Charlemagne's friendship, and found the latter ready to meet him half way, but could not make up his mind to consent to recognize the office of emperor of the West, though Charlemagne demanded this first of all as security for a lasting peace. Soon a special decree brought on a formal rupture, and the two emperors engaged in open hostilities by land and sea.

One of the most important of the Italian districts where the Byzantine power had so far maintained itself was the country along the Venetian coast. From this region were governed also the Dalmatian islands, which lay opposite. In 804 an armed revolt

put an end to the power of the Byzantine dukes in that quarter. Dalmatia also was carried away by the movement, and in 805 both districts voluntarily submitted to Charlemagne. Both countries were added to the Lombard kingdom ruled by King Pepin. Apparently this did not please the crafty Venetians, who were perhaps endeavoring, in the midst of the dispute between the two empires, to free themselves from both, and become independent. At all events, the appearance of a Byzantine fleet in their waters gave the upper hand for a time to the party which preferred to serve the remote and powerless emperor of the East, rather than the mighty ruler of the Franks and his son Pepin, who was so inconveniently near. But Pepin's successes in arms outweighed the advantage

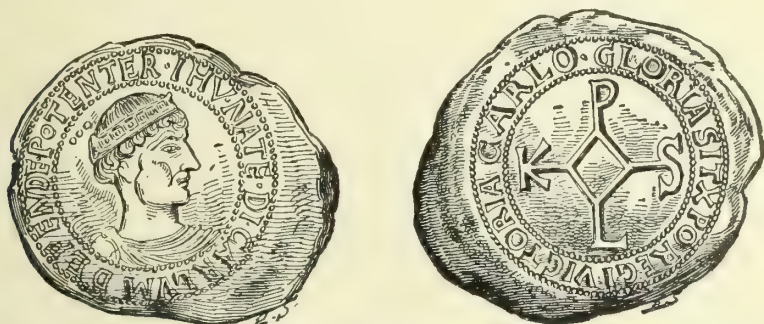


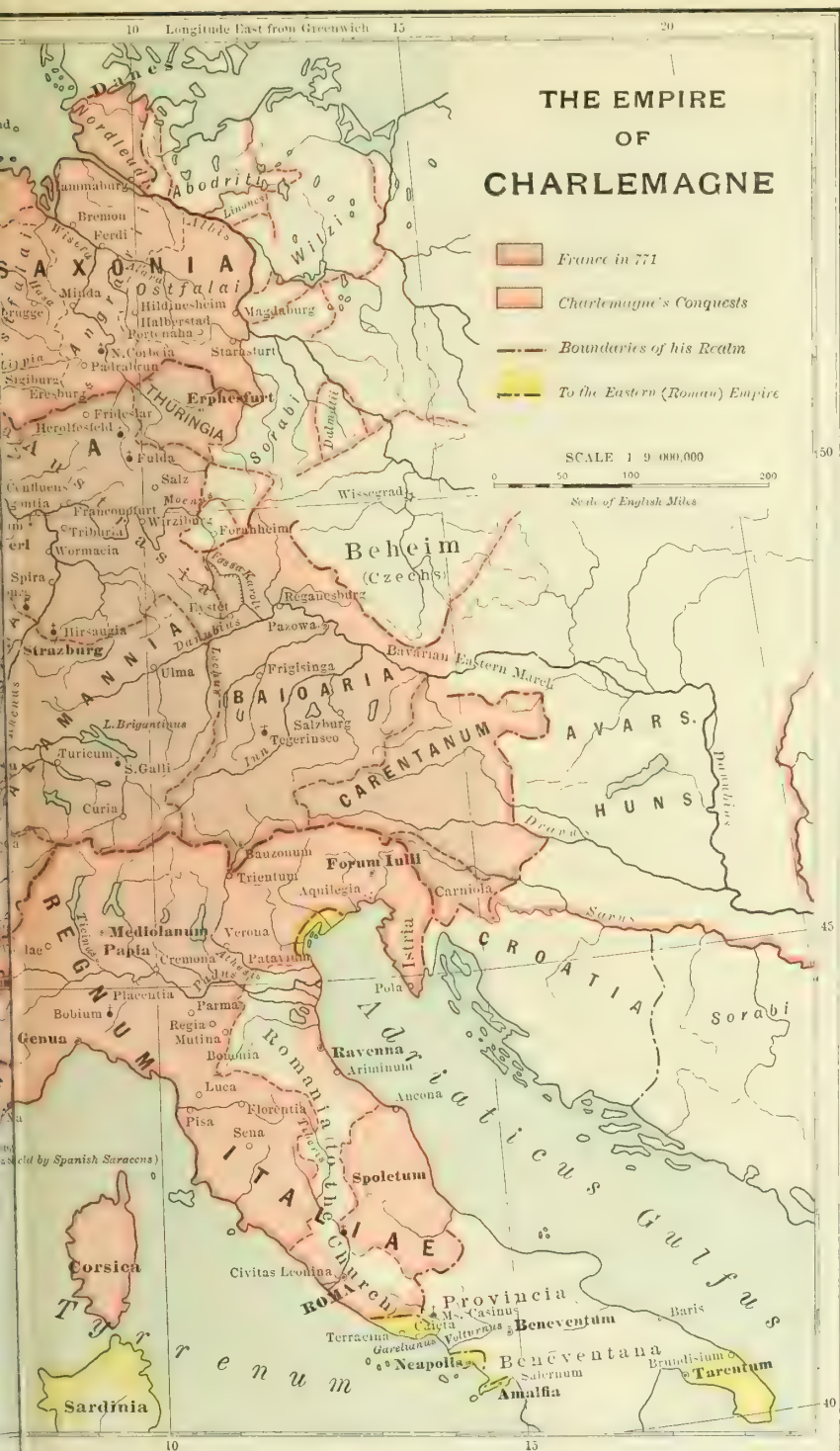
FIG. 10. -- A lead bulla of Charlemagne. Obverse: Portrait. Legend: *HIIV . NATE . DI . CARLV . DEFENDE . POTENTER* ('O Jesus, Son of God, mightily defend Charles'). Reverse: Monogram of *KAROLVS*. Legend: *GLORIA SIT XPO REGI VICTORIA CARLO* ('Glory be to Christ, the King, and victory unto Charles').

that the Byzantines owed to their fleet on the Italian coast, and brought the island city again under the dominion of his imperial father. However, a premature death cut off King Pepin in his prime, and this made even Charlemagne wish affairs in the south to take a peaceful turn. He therefore quickly concluded the negotiations that the Byzantines had already begun with Pepin. At the price of relinquishing Venice, and the towns on the Dalmatian and Istrian coast, he at last obtained recognition as emperor from his Eastern rival. Peace was not concluded until after the death of Nicephorus, who fell in the summer of 811 in an unsuccessful campaign against the Bulgarians; but it was made with his successor, Michael I. (811-813). Under the next emperor, the Armenian Leo V., copies of the articles of peace were again solemnly exchanged.

This was the last great political action performed by Charlemagne, the last long-sought success which he was destined to achieve. For when the ambassadors that he had sent to Leo V. returned, they found him no longer among the living. Thus his glorious reign was crowned by the successful termination of the negotiations with Byzantium, as well as by his elevation to the imperial throne. Even in the East the new Roman empire was now recognized as legitimate, and freed from the taint of usurpation that the Byzantines had hitherto tried to attach to it. Henceforth the protectorship of the Holy City and its sacred places, which Harun-al-Rashid had conceded to his friend in 807 by a second embassy, appeared in another light. There, where Orient and Occident were in constant contact, where Christendom and Islam alike cherished holy traditions, the Roman emperor, who was at the same time king of the Franks and Lombards, now appeared clearly as the destined champion of all Christendom; and the splendor that shone from Jerusalem shed its radiance upon the two crowns that adorned his head (Fig. 10).

To give a clear impression of the great power that Charlemagne wielded, his biographer, the amiable Einhard, gives at the end of his account of the wars waged by the emperor a statement of the extent of the Frankish monarchy at the beginning of his reign as contrasted with its size at the end of the same. He says: "By means of his wars, which he conducted with equal wisdom and good fortune, Charlemagne so much increased the Frankish kingdom, which was already large and powerful when he inherited it from his father, that it became three times as large. For it previously included only the part of Gaul which lies between the Rhine, the Loire, the ocean, and the Balearic Sea, and the part of Germany between Saxony, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Saale (which separates the Thuringians from the Sorbs), which the East Franks inhabit, and besides these only Alamannia and Bavaria. But he won, in addition, first Aquitania and Gascony, and the whole range of the Pyrenees as far as the Ebro, which rises in Navarre, flows through the rich plains of Spain, and empties below Tortosa into the Balearic Sea: then all Italy from Aosta to Southern Calabria, where the Greeks border on the Beneventines; further, Saxony, which forms a considerable part of Germany, and is about twice as broad as the real country of the Franks, being equal to it in length: next both Pannonias, and Dacia, which lies on the other bank of the Danube, as well as Istria, Libur-





nia, and Dalmatia, except the cities on the coast, which he left to the emperor of the Greeks for the sake of friendship and alliance with him. Moreover, he so far subdued all the yet uncivilized barbarian peoples who inhabit Germany between the Rhine, the Vistula, the sea, and the Danube, and resemble one another in speech, but differ widely in manners and customs, that they paid him tribute; especially the Wilzi, Sorbs, Abodriti, and Bohemians, against whom he carried on war, while he accepted the submission of the rest, who are far more numerous." Einhard certainly exaggerates somewhat, unless his undue extension of some of the boundaries is to be attributed to the vagueness of his ideas of geography. But it is certain that never since the fall of the Roman Empire of the West had so vast a domain been united under one ruler; and Charlemagne's contemporaries were right when they viewed his monarchy with amazement as one of the world's great empires. All the German peoples belonged to it except those in the distant north and the Anglo-Saxons of Britain. In the same empire, and in firm union with the Germans, lived the Romance peoples of the lands which had formed the heart of the Western Empire of the Romans. Along the eastern boundary, which ran in a mighty curve from the lower Elbe and the Trave across through central Europe to the middle part of the Danube, and then south over the eastern Alps, to the Adriatic, the empire stood in a contact, now friendly, now hostile (but always very important for the history of civilization), with the Slavic world; while in the south it came into contact with Islam on one side and the Byzantine power on the other. It included alike Germanic and Romance people, North-Germans and Slavs, Arabs and Greeks (see PLATE IV.). It was the central realm about which the world revolved; and even in those parts of the west which were not provinces of it, people did it reverence. Alfonso, King of Galicia and Asturias, who at the time of the Spanish campaign had been Charlemagne's foe, afterwards preferred to be styled the emperor's "man." The kings of Scotland did Charlemagne reverence, and called themselves his subjects and vassals. The Anglo-Saxons found in Charlemagne their kinsman and protector. King Eardulf of Northumbria, when driven from his country and people, fled to the emperor, and owed to the latter's interposition, which was seconded by the pope, his restoration to power.

The vast extent of the Frankish empire, the dissimilarity of the parts of which it was composed, and the diversity of their interests,

rendered the development of a single, uniform, civil organism extremely difficult. Even an age which had carried political science to greater perfection would struggle in vain to overcome these obstacles, and could only very gradually establish such a basis of lasting unity as would suit all parties. Even Charlemagne only partially succeeded in this, and his creation was not destined to a long existence. Yet what he did accomplish as an administrator and political organizer is truly astonishing, and will bear comparison with the greatest achievements of more cultivated times in this field. As warrior and conqueror, he could not free himself from certain qualities in which he showed the influence of the rude age in which he lived; but as a statesman he rises far above his time, and appears as the forerunner of an epoch of more highly developed political life, which dawned only slowly and long afterward. He stands, as it were, on the border-line between two periods of the world's history. On the one side, he sums up the political life of the Romance and Germanic peoples during their separation; on the other, he gives the decisive and directive impulse to the future development of both. Yet with all this he remained a Teuton, and except in names and forms did not borrow from the Romance peoples one of the features which are characteristic of his monarchy, and which regulated the formation of the states that afterwards grew out of it.

Although the countries which were united in Charlemagne's empire retained the names which they had borne while independent, these names had no longer any political or governmental importance. An exception, however, is found in Italy, which was regarded as a separate kingdom, and had its own king and its own laws. Hence the laws of the empire were also issued separately for Italy. Brittany and Gascony were only loosely united with the rest of the empire, and retained their native rulers, who, according to ancient custom, were called dukes. But in all other districts the office of duke of the tribe or people was abolished: for had it continued to exist, it would have kept alive the memory of the independence that had been lost, and have been a constant danger to the Frankish rule. But levies were still conducted according to nationalities. The soldiers of each tribe or people formed a separate force, and had a leader of their own, whose duties of course ceased with the return of peace. The unity of the empire was based upon the office of count. The government, in all parts of the realm, was uniformly administered by counts; and the whole territory of the empire was divided into

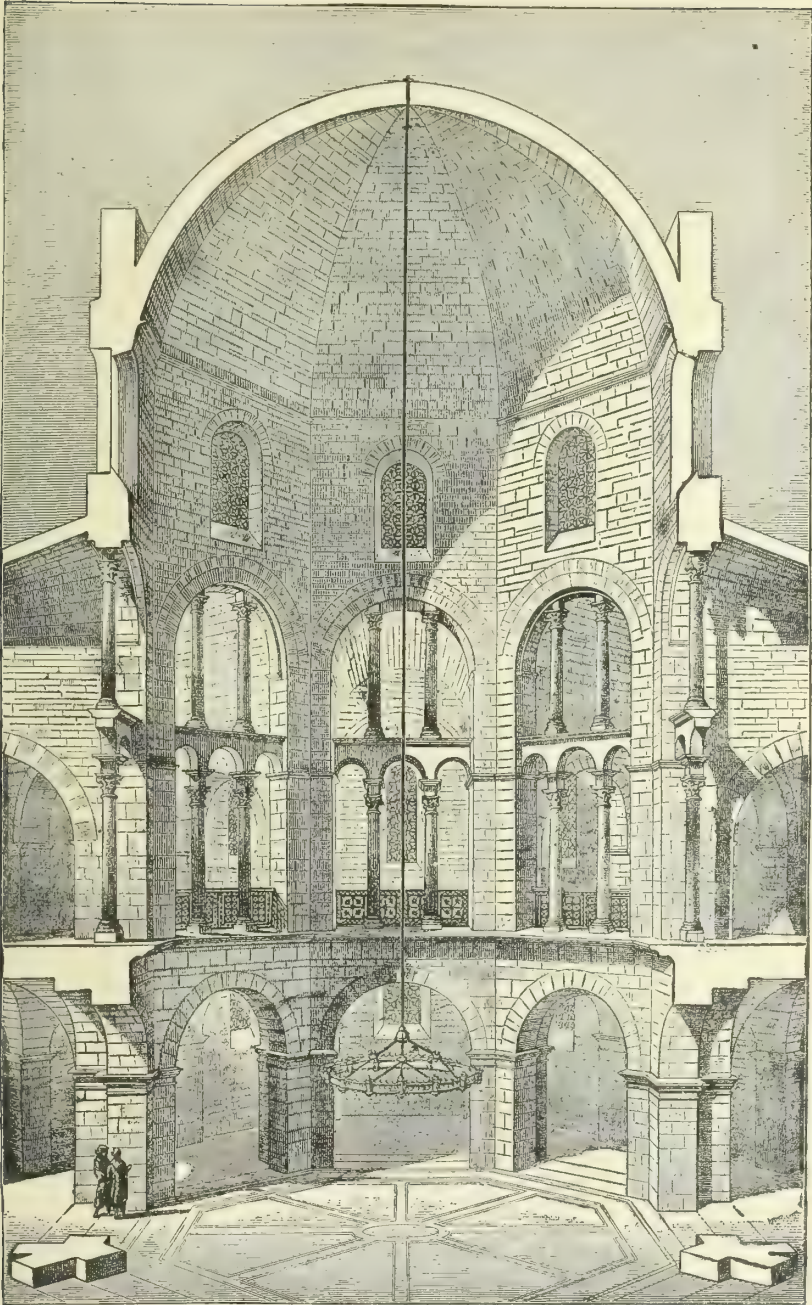


FIG. 11. — Cathedral at Münster: cross-section. The building was erected by Charlemagne; the chandelier suspended from the dome was a gift of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

counties (*comitatus*). These last corresponded in the Teutonic countries to the ancient cantons (*gaue*), and in the Romance lands to the municipalities (*civitates*), and were established by Charlemagne wherever he did not find them already existing. The heads of these administrative districts, the counts (*comites*, *præfecti*), who in the newly conquered countries were generally Franks, were appointed by the emperor, and usually held office for life; though they could be recalled at any time. They were the king's representatives among the inhabitants of their respective districts, and accordingly had very varied and comprehensive duties. They not only had charge of the maintenance of peace, and so the management of the police, but also controlled military and judicial affairs. They administered the royal revenues and estates, and in all cases exercised the general and particular rights of supervision and protection that belonged to the king. They therefore had influence in religious matters also. They were assisted by the *centenarii*, i.e., the heads of the 'hundreds' or centuries into which the counties were divided, who were appointed by the counts and people together, and also by the heads of the different places, the mayors (*iribuni*), etc.

The lack of a fixed place of residence for the emperor (which was not supplied by Aix-la-Chapelle until toward the close of Charlemagne's reign), and the difficulty of communication, opposed considerable obstacles to a regular supervision of these officers. To remove these obstacles was the more important because the office of count (the incumbents of which were usually rewarded by a gift of land in their districts) soon became more closely attached to the territory to which it pertained, and showed a tendency to become hereditary. This cause afterwards promoted the speedy decline of the royal power, and the development of the beneficiary system. To avert this danger of a dissolution of the governmental organism, Charlemagne established the institution of the 'king's messengers' (*missi dominici* or *regii*), which was especially developed after his coronation as emperor. A capitulary issued in 802 at Aix-la-Chapelle ordained that in the different parts of the empire wise and experienced men, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, should announce and execute the special mandates of the emperor; they were also to observe how every one did his duty, and in particular were to hear the complaints of those who believed that they had suffered injustice, and to help them in conjunction with the counts. The authority of these messengers therefore included every depart-

ment of public life, and was intended to assist the government in the solution of the many problems that came before it. They not only informed themselves about the condition of the churches and monasteries, and the conduct of the clergy, but also superintended the administration of the counts. They saw that the obligation to serve in the army was punctually and completely fulfilled, and examined the management of the royal estates by the counts and their assistants. In short, these messengers represented the monarch in the superintendence of officials and subjects. The whole realm was divided into districts (*missatica, legationes*), in each of which two royal messengers, who were often a monk and a layman, and were appointed for a year, exercised four times in that period the functions already indicated. As to the way in which this was done, there seem to have been no definite directions; but the result of the inspection was announced to the emperor, and for this purpose the messengers probably for the most part resorted to the great imperial diets. At all events, this institution paved the way for a certain uniformity of administration in civil and religious, economic and financial matters, and in questions of the highest importance made it possible to follow out with some degree of concert the guiding principles which were established at court. It must not, however, be overestimated; it did not, and from its entire nature could not, render possible such a rigid centralization of the government as would have been necessary to weld the empire into a single whole. It appears rather to have been an expedient adopted from necessity, the efficiency of which really depended on the personality of the ruler.

The institution of the counts of the marches (*markgrafen*, margraves) forms a kind of contrast to that of the royal messengers, inasmuch as the former was intended to make certain counties more independent of the court (especially in military matters), and to enable the heads of these to act rapidly and independently. It was the duty of the counts in general, when the summons to arms had been issued, to lead the men of their district who were capable of bearing arms to the gathering-places, and to command them in the war; but they had not the right to call them to arms on their own responsibility. But the heads of border districts which were exposed to sudden attack, or were appointed to wage continual war against hostile neighbors, had, besides the other rights of the counts, that of calling their subjects into the field (*heerbann*). These margraves (*marchiones, praefecti, or duces limitis*) were intended to be the guar-

dians of the border, and to be always ready to strike a blow. Of such border-marches, the population of which was really all the time in a state of war, there were at this time six of special importance. These were, in the north, to resist the Danes, the Danish or Saxon march : in the southwest, against the Arabs, the Spanish march : in the southeast, the march of Friuli ; in the northwest, that of Brittany, of which the valiant Roland had once been margrave : and finally two others in the east, one on the Raab to oppose the Avars, the other farther to the north to withstand the Sorbs.

Within the realm which was thus protected on all sides, the various parts of the population lived in very different conditions. For nothing was further from the ideas of that age, and even from those of Charlemagne himself, than a systematic levelling of differences. Charlemagne was inexorable in requiring obedience and loyalty to his rule, and still more inexorable in enforcing humble submission to the creed of the church ; but in other respects he left the nations and tribes to their ancestral manners, and in this showed a degree of toleration that hindered his efforts to secure unity. For not only the Romance and Teutonic peoples, but even the individual tribes, preserved their own special laws, and that not merely when they lived together in large bodies, but also when they were separated from their own people, and dwelt among a tribe which followed other legal usages. The law had an absolutely personal significance, and its force was not confined to a definite space of territory. This went so far that in Italy, where Lombards, Romans, and Franks were mingled together, each individual had the right to choose according to which law he would live, and be judged in case he was brought to trial. The difference between the various codes was especially prominent in the ordinances dealing with the rights of the individual and of the family and the relations based on those rights. The peculiarities of the different peoples and tribes were maintained and preserved by this system.

This constitution seems admirable when compared with the civil and political confusion of the centuries immediately preceding ; but how little it had of that which we are accustomed to consider essential to a state is shown, not only by the personal character of the law, but especially by the importance which the state ascribed to religion and the way in which it made political use of the church and its institutions (Fig. 11). After Charlemagne had become, by virtue of his imperial office, the appointed champion of the church, and

claimed it as his right and duty to be the guardian of orthodoxy, he saw in the union of all his subjects in the same church the strongest bond for holding them together in their political life, as well as in their religious faith. In this way the theocratic ideas amid which he lived and moved came into practical operation. But in comparison with the fantastic speculations indulged in by the ablest of those who in later times advocated these ideas, Charlemagne appears sober and free from prejudice. One almost feels inclined to call him prosaic in the way in which he knew how to turn the ideal to account, and to reconcile it with actual circumstances and conditions. In his eyes the church was and remained a servant, — an honored and distinguished one, to be sure, but still a servant, — toward whom he felt and behaved as a master, and from whom he had to exact obedience. Although the functions of the church related chiefly to matters other than political, yet the bishops were the emperor's officers, and like all other officials were appointed by him for the purpose, and with the duty, of supporting his dominion by their authority, keeping his subjects loyal, and inducing them to obey the laws. The activity of the bishops was intended to supplement, as it were, that of the counts. The Frankish clergy yielded Charlemagne their obedience; even regard for the external prosperity of their church was enough to make them bear quietly a servitude which contrasted favorably with the rough treatment that they had received from Charles Martel. But as the Frankish church became more conscious of its connection with the church of Rome, and adopted the hierarchical ideas which were developed in the latter, it necessarily became more dissatisfied with its own dependent condition. Hence it strove to exemplify, at the expense of the Frankish empire, the tendency toward a universal church and a universal state with which the Roman church was filled. This effort could not fail to be successful as soon as the rights of the state ceased to be maintained by a personality as mighty as that of Charlemagne. For the unity of his vast empire, in spite of the religious bond upon which he laid so much stress, depended altogether upon the character of its founder and head.

The age of Charlemagne was not at all quick to perceive signs of character in a person's face, form, and bearing. This is clear from the paintings and sculptures of the period (Fig. 12, and for the same reason but little attention should be paid to descriptions of a man's personal appearance which have come to us from that time. Yet we

owe to Einhard's careful account (although he may have been somewhat influenced even in questions of fact by his imitation of the life of Augustus by Suetonius), some statements which enable us to form an approximate idea of the great emperor's appearance (PLATE V.). He was thick-set and powerfully built. In height he was above the average, though not excessively tall; his head was well rounded, the eyes large and full of animation; the nose tolerably large, the expression of the face pleasant and cheerful. The imposing



FIG. 12. — Bronze Statuette of Charlemagne. In the Museum Carnavalet.

appearance which he presented when standing, as well as when seated, was somewhat impaired by his short, thick neck, and by the stoutness of his body, which, however, did not at all offend the eye, as his other members were symmetrical. As he strode firmly along, he presented, in his whole bearing, the picture of a sterling man. His voice, however, was surprisingly shrill. During most of his life he enjoyed the best of health, but in the last four years of it he was often tormented by fever. He did not, however, consult the physicians, because they laid upon him all manner of unpleasant

PLATE V.



Albert Durer's Ideal Head of Charlemagne.

Painted in 1510. The emperor wears the crown and has the other imperial insignia, all of which were in Nuremberg in the artist's lifetime.

restrictions about his food, and wished to give him medicine. By means of riding and hunting (cf. Fig. 13) he retained unusual bodily vigor until old age. Bathing and swimming also helped to keep him in health. Later, he was especially fond of trying to recover strength at the hot springs of Aix-la-Chapelle. In his manner of life, table, and clothing he insisted upon extreme simplicity. He usually wore the dress peculiar to the Frankish people, and put on richer garments only on great festivals. Only twice — in Rome itself — could he be induced to use the costly Roman attire. Aversion to useless show, and to everything foreign, was natural to him; and even as the ruler of a vast empire, which combined the proudest recollections of the Roman imperial power with the theocratic idea of a universal church, he remained externally, as well as in his inmost being, a genuine

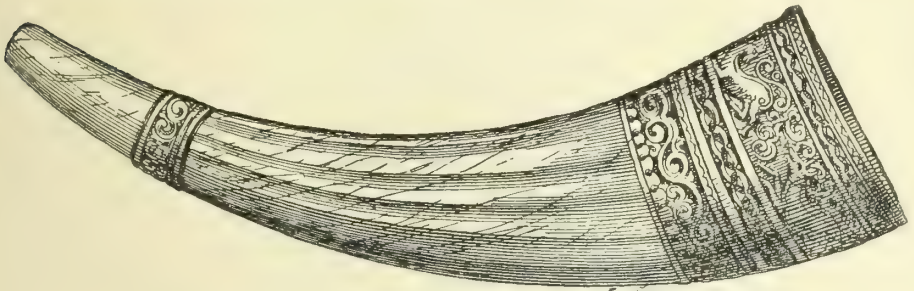


FIG. 13. — Ivory Horn (Olifant) of Charlemagne. In the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Frank, a Teuton through and through. With this fact corresponds the moderate degree of education which he acquired; even in Latin he progressed only far enough to be able to understand the prayers which he used in his devotions. He did not know how to write. When he was already an old man, he had wax tablets and a stylus placed under his pillow, so that in sleepless moments he might practise imitating the letters of the alphabet, — a fact which shows impressively how much the German race, which had conquered the world, stood in need of education. Charlemagne, like all conscientious rulers, was economical of his time, and devoted himself with tireless energy to the service of the public weal. Even in the morning, while dressing, he not only received personages who were on intimate terms with him, but allowed parties who had a dispute to be brought before him by the count palatine, and to state their case, so that he might give an immediate decision.

Around the emperor, as the centre in the first place of the court

(Fig. 14) and of the realm, gathered an imposing number of officials and dignitaries. The functions of some of these pertained exclusively to the court, and those of others still were for the most part courtly, while the duties of the majority were political. For the view peculiar to the Germanic peoples, which makes no distinction between the king's private possessions and the public property, nor between the king's concerns and those of the state, manifests itself especially in the composition and arrangement of the court; though in that respect also there was unmistakable progress as compared with the Merovingian period. The office which had been most influential un-

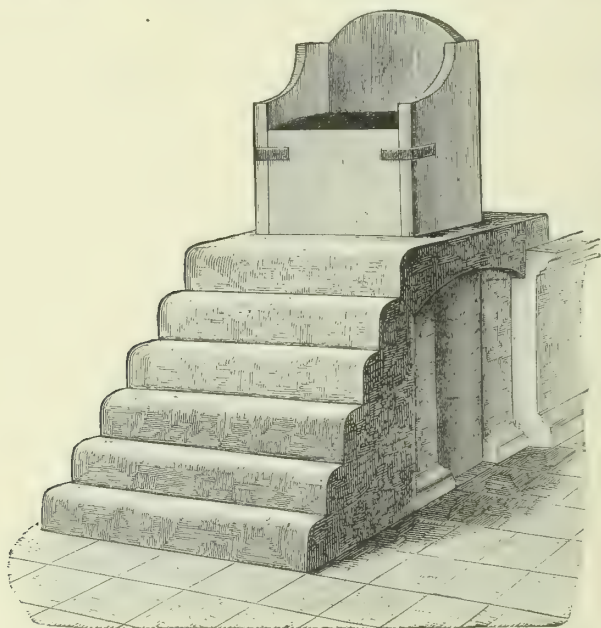


FIG. 14. — Marble Throne of Charlemagne. In the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle.

der the Merovingians, and which, though originally a courtly one, had gradually become eminently political, — that of the mayor of the palace, which had paved the way to the throne for the Carolingians, — had now fallen into disuse. But we find at court, even in the time of Charlemagne, the seneschal, who exercised a kind of general supervision over the entire royal household, and especially over the king's table, in which he was assisted by the chief butler (*buticularius*) and the chief equerry (*comes stabuli*). The chamberlain (*camerarius*) had charge of the treasure, and was under the supervision of the queen, who exercised authority as mistress of the house.

From this position he gradually obtained the management of all the court affairs. These dignitaries took part also in political business; in particular, they officiated in the imperial court of justice, and were sent into the provinces as king's messengers. On the other hand, the offices of the head-doorkeeper (*summus ostiarius*), whose duties corresponded nearly to those of a chief-marshal of the court; the quartermaster (*mansionarius*), whose services were of importance on the king's frequent journeys; the sword-bearer, the chief-master of the huntsmen, etc., — were entirely of a courtly nature. The count palatine, who was the director of the imperial court of justice; and the chancellor, who, with the aid of numerous notaries and other subordinate functionaries, had charge of the whole department of documents, the drawing-up of records, decrees, letters, etc., — had duties of state which kept them at court and in proximity to the emperor. More independent, and in many cases very influential, were those confidants or friends of the monarch that resided at court, without office.

Although the court formed the centre of the government of the realm, yet it was scarcely adapted to act as the central organ of that government. For that purpose it needed to be supplemented and enlarged by a body which should unite it with the different parts of the empire, should inform it of their condition and needs, and act as intermediary between it and them. This service was rendered by the imperial assembly, which gathered about the court as its natural centre. The assembly had two divisions, — a smaller one, the duty of which was to consult and prepare business; and a larger one, which was intended to dispose finally of the matters introduced before it by the smaller. In the former only the more distinguished councillors shared, in order to consider the business which was in prospect for the coming year, while the latter seems to have been a continuation of the 'March-field' of the Merovingian period, which since the time of Pepin had become a 'May-field,' and under Charlemagne was occasionally held even later in the year. At this great assembly all freemen were originally entitled to appear, for it was, in fact, a military review; but of course only the officials participated in the deliberations and resolutions. These officials were especially those who were engaged in the administration of the provinces; i.e., the counts, king's messengers, and bishops, who were, of course, very numerous. The preparation of the business which was to be despatched was, therefore, often intrusted to a committee. This great

imperial assembly included within its sphere of action the whole internal and foreign policy as well as all ecclesiastical questions; but at times it also dealt with the special concerns of a particular province, and it occasionally busied itself with the minutest subjects. How its powers were limited with relation to the emperor we do not know. It certainly did not possess an acknowledged right as opposed to him, and must not be compared with our representative assemblies. It was only a council on an enlarged scale, the views of which Charlemagne heard without being obliged to follow them. Its resolutions were recorded, and in such a manner that all those which were adopted, though they might relate to the most different matters, were collected in a single document. This document contained the whole result of the deliberations that had been held. It was divided into chapters, and its provisions were promulgated for general observance, as the will and behest of the emperor. In cases of special importance, these 'capitularies' (PLATE VI.¹) were signed by the members of the assembly.

The equipment by means of which the state under Charlemagne fulfilled its functions was therefore simple enough; but those functions, also, were very simple compared with the conditions of later times. At this period it was only necessary to see that the law was observed and peace maintained, and to take care that the country and people should be properly represented and defended abroad.

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI.

Facsimile of two pages of a manuscript of the Capitularies of Charlemagne, dated 825, St. Gall Monastery Library, Cod. 733.

ut episcopi alterius clericos ad se
non soll eitent nec ordinent *episcopis*
Item eiu's' dem ut nullus *episcopus* seruum
alterius ad clericatum officii sine
domini sui uoluntatem promo
uere presumat . et hoc cangren
se concilium prohibet . *episcopis*.
Item eiusdem . ut si quis sacerdotum con
tra constituta decretalia pre
sumptiose agat et corrigi nolens
ab officio suo moueatur . *episcopis*
In decretis gelasii pape . ut nullus
episcopus uiduas uelat presumat.
episcopis

Haec enim dilectissimi pio studio
et magna dilectionis intentione
uestra unanimitate amore studu
imus

que magis necessaria uidebantur
ut sanctorum patrum canonicis in
stitutis ingeientis premia cum illis
aeterne felicitatis accipere
mereamini; Seit namque pru
dentia uestra . quam terribili
anathematis censura ferierunt.
Qui presumptiose contra statu
ta uniuersalia conciliorum
uenire audeunt. Quapropter
et uos diligentius ammonemus
ut omni intentione illud or
ribile execrationem iudicio
uobis capere studeatis: Sed
magis canonica instituta sequen
tes . et pacificam unitatem nitentes
ad aeterne pacis gaudia perueni
re



ut epi alterius clericos ad se
 non alliciant nec ordinent. **E**p
 it. eundem ut nullus epi seruum
 alterius ecclesie cui officii sine
 domini sui uoluntatem promo
 uere presumat. & hoc cangre
 se conciliū prohibet. **E**pis.
It. eand. ut quis sacerdoti con
 tra constantē dē & edia pre
 sumptiose agat & corrigi nolens
 ab officio suo moueatur. **E**pis.
Indecretis gelasii pape. ut nullus
 epi uiduas uelare presumat.
Epis.
Haec enim dilecti pio studio
 & magna dilectionis intentione
 uia unanimitate amore studi
 1174.

Facsimile of two pages of a manuscript of the

que magis nocentia uidebantur
 ueterū patrū canonice in-
 stituta in eorum premissis
 ad eterne felicitatis accipere
 mereamini; Scit namq: pru-
 dentia ur̄e. quē terribile
 anathematis censura ferientur.
 Qui presumptiose contra statu-
 te uniuersalium conciliorū
 uenire audeunt. Quae propt̄
 & uos diligentius ammonemus
 ut omni intentione illud or-
 ribile execrationē iudicio
 uobis capere studeatis: Sed
 magis canonica instituta sequen-
 tes & pacificā unitatē noster
 ad eterne pacis gaudiū pueni-
 re

Local needs did not really concern the imperial government at all, because every service which the public interest demanded had to be rendered in the very place where it was required. Where a bridge was needed, the inhabitants were obliged to supply the necessary building-material and workmen; just as when the army took the field, that district in which it happened to be at any given time was obliged to supply it with provisions and forage. Hence the state required little from its subjects except their labor and the products of the soil. This simplified matters of finance in an extraordinary degree. Of course even the empire of Charlemagne could not entirely dispense with a department of finance: but this was regarded entirely from the standpoint of individual rights, and treated the fiscal management of the state as identical with that of the king's domestic finances. The necessary income was derived from various kinds of imports, e.g., market-duties, freightage- and harbor-dues, bridge-tolls, etc.; also the revenue from lawsuits, confiscations, and plunder taken in war; further, the presents which were made to the king, even by churches and monasteries; and the revenue from various taxes which were customary in different parts of the empire, for there was no one imperial tax for the whole realm. There was also the income from the king's extensive estates, in respect to which no distinction was made between the property of the state and that of the king. That portion which was in his direct possession was managed by him through his officials, bailiffs, etc., under the supervision of the counts and the king's messengers. The instructions according to which the management of these estates was regulated are contained in the *Capitulaire de Villis*. They give an insight into the agricultural methods of that day, and show at the same time how Charlemagne did not disdain to study and to regulate the trivial details of the management of a farm.

Far more extensive, and far more important for the gradual alteration of the Frankish state, was the land, which belonged, to be sure, to the king or the state, but which was not in the king's immediate possession. In this category belonged all the property of the church, which did not yet enjoy all those privileges by which it was afterwards gradually withdrawn from the possession of the state. For the lands which were granted for the endowment of churches and religious houses remained the property of the king, and, as such were claimed for public purposes. Indeed, the relation in which the church stood to the landed property that was made over to it was,

according to the views of that time, not essentially different from that of the count to the land in his district which was assigned him as pay. In both cases there was a loan of land, which left the receiver tolerably free to use the land thus lent to him, but did not diminish the right of ownership on the part of the king who made the loan. By entering into this relation, the king conferred a favor (*beneficium*) on the person to whom the land was lent. Charlemagne did not confine favors of this sort to bishops, abbots, counts, and the like, but bestowed them also on other persons. In this way was subsequently developed the form under which the owners of great landed estates—the king as well as a few temporal lords and bishops—turned their property to account. This form gradually gave to the whole status of property, and to the social classification which was based upon it, as well as to the system of government in the Middle Ages, which was founded upon these social and economic conditions, their characteristic stamp. For with the beneficiary system was united the institution of vassalage, the origin of which is not entirely clear. He who received a ‘beneficium’ (this was the name given to the property which was lent to him) became at the same time the vassal of the person from whom he received it; i.e., he placed himself under the protection of the latter by solemnly offering him his hand, and vowed allegiance to him. As vassalage came to be employed in more weighty matters, it attained great political importance. It was at first used as a means of binding closely to the empire territories which had previously been independent. In such cases the inhabitants received the land as a ‘benefice’ from the king of the Franks (as, for example, Thassilo received Bavaria); but afterwards this was reversed, and vassalage was used in order to raise provinces under rulers, who had previously acted as officers of the king, to a higher degree of independence. This contributed to the gradual dissolution of the framework of the empire, especially in the western provinces, and finally became a serious danger to the royal power and to the unity of the realm, especially since the whole military organization (and therefore the empire’s power of defence) was based upon vassalage.

For among the Franks, as well as all the other Teutonic peoples, the military system stood in very close connection with property in land. A man was required to possess land in order to have the full rights of citizen, and those rights involved the corresponding obligation to military service. Starting from this prin-

ciple, Charlemagne introduced a series of important innovations. All the inhabitants of the country, without exception, were required to assist in its defence in case of an invasion; but the actual duty of serving in the army was regulated according to the amount of property, so that of the owners of small landed estates, to whom the mere obligation to fit themselves out with arms was burdensome, only a part actually took the field. Of those who owned two hides of land each, one in every two furnished and armed a soldier; while of those who owned only one hide, three together supplied and armed a soldier; and of those whose property was half a hide each, six together did the same. In this way, even those who stayed at home contributed their share, and those who served in the army were relieved by being supplied with arms by men of their own class. The penalties for failure to render the service required were also graded according to rank and wealth.

When one surveys as a whole the political organization which Charlemagne in part created, and in part developed out of what already existed, he cannot fail to recognize in it a great advance in the political development both of the Teutonic and of the Romance peoples. He is compelled to admit that it was well adapted to enable a permanent system of government to be established in the different parts of the empire, and thus to facilitate a more uniform growth of the whole. Yet it cannot be denied that it lacked the strictness and unity which were needed to overcome the numerous incentives to separation that existed. Its unity depended only upon the existence of a single ruler, and its strictness upon the way in which he administered the government; and both arose from the deliberateness and consistency with which Charlemagne strove to establish an intellectual and spiritual fellowship between the two races, based on their common religious faith. He hoped that this fellowship would cause the existing difference to disappear amid a higher civilization which would gradually diffuse itself. No one saw more clearly than the great emperor, that, in the sphere of intellectual life, the Romance peoples were superior to their conquerors. Theodoric the Ostrogoth had used the Roman people, which was really indispensable, as though it were a mere tool of no great importance; but it soon freed itself from his sway, and turned against the nation which it had been made to serve in spite of its own superiority. Thus arose a dissension which soon destroyed his kingdom. Charlemagne, on the other hand, strove to raise his Franks to the intellectual plane of

the Romans, and to appropriate to his subjects the results of the work of civilization that had been performed by the latter people.

In the first place Charlemagne strove to unite in himself both of the elements of national culture that existed side by side in his kingdom. He caused the old heroic myths and tales, as well as the book of Augustine, "The City of God," to be read to him at meals. He took pains to have the old national epics written down, introduced German names for the winds and months, and required the bishops to preach in German. But when advanced in years he caused himself to be instructed in grammar by Peter of Pisa. In like manner in the case of his children, his friends, and the young people of rank who were growing up at court, he strove to unite the Roman and German elements in a more perfect unity. The court-school became the centre of the intellectual life of the realm; and by means of the scholars whom he had collected around him in a sort of academy, Charlemagne himself stood in systematic connection with this whole movement. With extraordinary keenness of insight he selected the helpers adapted to his purpose; all the nationalities of the empire were represented among them; and even foreign lands were obliged to give up to him their ablest men. We find at his court the learned Anglo-Saxon, Alcuin; the Lombard, Paulus Diaconus, the historian of his people, whose own family had shared in the struggle of the Lombards against the Frankish rule; the Visigoth, Theodulf, a native of Spain, who rose to be bishop of Orleans, and combined theological learning with unusual mastery of the poetic style; the Roman Peter of Pisa; and Angilbert, who was of a noble Frankish family, and was the favored lover of the emperor's daughter Bertha, and finally Charlemagne's especial favorite, Einhard, the emperor's intelligent and amiable biographer, who was probably at times also his confidential adviser in important matters of state.

Charlemagne associated freely with the members of this circle, where he was called by the academic name David. His companions received similar names; e.g., Einhard was styled Bezaleel; Angilbert, Homer; Alcuin, Flaccus, etc. The range of the interests cultivated by this academic union was surprisingly great, and went far beyond the narrow bounds which in those days were set to all intellectual exertions by the prevalence of ecclesiastical ideas. It included even astronomy. With what success Charlemagne fostered historical composition is clear from the excellence of the historical works

of his time that have come down to us, in comparison with which those that precede and follow them seem very poor and scanty. His care extended even to the cultivation of a good style; in the neglect of this by many ecclesiastics, he saw a danger to the right understanding and interpretation of Holy Writ. In general he made provision for the better education of the monks, and gave directions to archbishops and bishops how the instruction of their clergy could be improved by the appointment of competent teachers. He wished also that the care and correctness with which new copies of the Scriptures and other books necessary for use in church services were made, should be subject to careful oversight. The high degree of culture which the clergy of the Frankish empire possessed at the beginning of the ninth century is the best proof that such efforts met with success. But his exertions were not confined to the clergy and to theological education; he himself declared that he wished to recommend to all, as a subject for diligent study, the sciences and liberal arts, which had been neglected by his predecessors. Hence, first of all he ordered his own children, both sons and daughters, to be initiated into these studies. Unfortunately, the only son who survived him was the very one who could not appreciate this profane learning, and who persecuted and extirpated it as dangerous to the church.

Charlemagne married four times. The place of the daughter of Desiderius, whom he divorced in 775, was taken by the young Alamannic princess, Hildegard. She bore him, during twelve years of wedlock, several daughters — among them Rotrud, who was once intended to occupy the Byzantine throne; and Bertha, the mistress of Angilbert — and four sons: Charles, Pepin, and in 778 the twins Lothair and Louis (Ludwig), of whom the former soon died. She was torn from him by death in 783. His third wife, Fastrada, died in 797, after she had borne two daughters. His fourth marriage, with the Alamannic lady, Liutgard, who was very highly praised by her contemporaries for her physical and mental charms, and distinguished herself by sharing in her husband's literary efforts, proved childless. She, too, died before he was crowned emperor. But his passions sought satisfaction also outside of the marriage relation; and we know, from the statements of his contemporaries, of a whole series of concubines, and of sons and daughters that they bore him. Some of these he provided for by giving them ecclesiastical offices. Even before his marriage with the Lombard princess, he had by a

noble Frankish lady, Himiltrud, a son Pepin, who in 792 allowed himself to be led into a plot against his father, and was therefore imprisoned for life in Pruem. This freedom which Charlemagne allowed himself, and which he permitted to his daughters, although their conduct gave him much vexation, forms a peculiarly characteristic feature in the picture of the moral condition of that age.

CHAPTER V.

LOUIS THE PIOUS (814-840), THE QUARREL BETWEEN HIS SONS (840-843), AND THE DIVISION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE (843-870).

(A.D. 814-870.)

OF the four sons borne him by Hildegard, Charlemagne saw only three reach manhood, and only the youngest was destined to survive him. Hence the future of his realm necessarily shaped itself otherwise than the great emperor had planned. Charlemagne, like his countrymen, adhered firmly to the old Frankish law that all legitimate sons should inherit, and therefore a kind of division of the empire could not be avoided. The two younger sons were early placed over single provinces as viceroys, — Pepin over the Lombard kingdom, and Louis over Aquitania. As both were mere children at the time of their elevation to the throne, this step could have no real political value; it was probably only a prudent concession to the pride of two peoples which had previously enjoyed greater independence. Even afterwards Charlemagne never relinquished any of the rights of king in either province, and, in particular, he always bore the title of King of the Lombards. After 788 we find the eldest son, who bore the same name as his father, in a similar position as Charlemagne's assistant in the government of Neustria. He took a very prominent part in the wars of the following years, especially in Saxony, and against the Danes and Wends; so that one forms the impression, that, as compared with the limited kingdoms of his brothers, he was purposely assigned a position which brought him into relations with the entire realm. With this view agrees the fact that Charlemagne, after his own coronation, caused this son to be crowned king by the pope in person; a ceremony to which, if merely on account of its connection with the momentous act of December 25, 800, greater importance should be attributed than to Pepin's coronation as king of the Lombards in 801.

It is clear, therefore, that Charlemagne did not intend to pre-

serve the absolute unity of the empire. Though he valued very highly the ideal significance of the imperial office, and though he laid great stress upon its religious side, yet to derive from it a political unity which should correspond to the unity of faith was far from his thoughts. Instructive are the provisions which he made in 806, at an imperial assembly in Diedenhofen (Thionville), to exclude any dispute among his sons about the inheritance in case of his death, and at the same time to fix the relation of his successors to one another. These provisions were based upon the arrangement then existing, by which Charles governed Neustria, Pepin Italy, and Louis Aquitania; and they disposed of the rest of the empire in such a way that each of the three brothers should receive in addition the territory which, in respect to its position and population, stood closest to that which he already possessed. Charlemagne enjoined it upon his sons as a duty to observe scrupulously the boundaries that he set. None of them was to encroach upon the possessions of another, nor to endeavor to injure him by instigating his subjects to revolt. In order to make it easier for them to assist one another in case of need, each of them had the privilege of using certain military roads leading into the kingdoms of the other two. Precise regulations were also given as to what was to be required from each one in reference to the vassals of the others, especially in cases of treason, desertion, etc. These regulations show clearly the endeavor to exclude all occasion for disputes and to sharply define the rights and duties of the kings toward one another, without, however, entirely giving up the idea that the three kingdoms belonged to one great empire. That idea is very plainly expressed in several ordinances, which were intended to insure a certain freedom of emigration from one kingdom to another, as well as the freedom of trade, and which allowed the free inhabitants of each of the realms to acquire landed property in the others. But Charlemagne's care extended also to the next generation; for he made provision for the case of the death of one of the sons before the other two. He even ordained exactly how, after the death of either son, the kingdom of the deceased should be divided among the others. But if the deceased left a son, and the people wished the latter for their king, no further subdivision should be made, and the two surviving brothers should not hinder their nephew from succeeding to his father's kingdom. It is remarkable that in this document no mention is made of the office of emperor,

although Charlemagne urges his successors to protect and aid the Roman church to the utmost of their power. Some have inferred from this silence that Charlemagne regarded the imperial office as a purely personal dignity, which was not necessarily connected with the Frankish monarchy, and which, therefore, did not pass to his successors unless special provision was made to that effect. But this interpretation is not consistent with the high appreciation of the imperial dignity which Charlemagne showed on other occasions, and which he manifested by requiring his subjects to take a new oath of allegiance. Besides, Charlemagne reserved the right to add to and alter the law, which was not intended to change at all his powers as emperor and king.

In this law stands the provision that each of the emperor's daughters shall be left free to choose whichever of her brothers she may please for her protector, and whether she will take the veil or marry a nobleman. It is also enjoined that Charlemagne's grandsons shall be held in honor by their fathers and uncles, and shall in their turn show these respect and obedience. We even find the provision that none of the kings should, on an unproved charge, and without the sentence of a court, kill, mutilate, blind, or cause to be shorn and confined in a monastery, a son or a nephew. In making these provisions Charlemagne was probably thinking of the cruelties which had once taken place in the house of the Merovingians; and one feels that he was not entirely free from apprehensions of danger to his own race from a similar cause. That such fears were not without foundation was sufficiently shown by subsequent events.

But the act of division of 806 soon lost the conditions on which it depended, and therefore became void. King Pepin died on July 8, 810, in the midst of the war against the Byzantines. He left one son, Bernhard, and five daughters. Charlemagne had the latter brought up at his court with his own daughters, while the former was intended to succeed his father as king of Italy. Less than a year and a half later Charlemagne saw his eldest son, Charles, die in the prime of manhood. He was scarce forty years old when he died, on December 4, 811; and with him fell the hopes which had been based upon him. Physically and mentally he is said to have very closely resembled his father. The question of the succession to the throne, and the division of the empire, had accordingly become unnecessary; the emperor had only a single heir, King Louis of Aquitania, to whom the whole kingdom would necessarily fall. The only

other person who had claim to a part of the realm was Pepin's son Bernhard. The considerations which seem to have influenced Charlemagne in reference to the imperial office, and which had hindered him from making provision about it in 806, were also removed. For there is no good reason to suppose that Charlemagne had so changed his views in the meantime that he now thought himself permitted to assign to his successor, even in his own lifetime, an office which he had previously regarded as purely his own, and incapable of transmission or inheritance. In the fall of 813 King Louis presented himself at his father's court in Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to be crowned emperor and acknowledged as heir and co-regent. The ceremony took place on September 11, in the church of St. Mary. It was certainly with a definite purpose that on this solemn occasion Charlemagne dispensed with the aid of ecclesiastics, and allowed Louis to take the crown from the altar with his own hands, and put it on. Perhaps the emperor wished to remove in this way the appearance of dependence which Leo III. had produced by the coronation of 800. At the same time Pepin's son Bernhard was proclaimed king of Italy, where he had been ruling since the spring, aided by the advice of the emperor's cousin, the wise and politic but avaricious Abbot Adalhard of Corbie. King Louis then returned to Aquitania, though of course only for a short time. Four and a half months later the tidings of his father's death summoned him to Aix-la-Chapelle to assume the power.

The strength of the aged emperor had been sinking for some years. He was tortured by fever and the gout, and found himself more and more hindered in performing the duties of his office. The death of his sons also helped to crush him. The journeys, the hunting-excursions, the joyous rides amid his friends and kinsmen, were now a thing of the past. He no longer left the vicinity of Aix-la-Chapelle; its hot springs could still bring him temporary relief. Then came an extremely severe winter. On January 22, 814, Charlemagne was seized by a violent fever; the ordinary treatment, the strictest possible abstinence from food and drink, produced no improvement. A pleurisy soon removed all hope of the old man's recovery. To prepare himself for his end he received the sacrament from the hand of Hildibald of Mayence. On the forenoon of January 28, 814, he passed away, probably at the age of seventy-two. Although he had once expressed the intention of having his body laid beside that of his father in the burial-place of the Merovingian kings at St.

Denis, his sepulchre was prepared in the church of St. Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the very day of his death. His corpse was placed in a Roman sarcophagus of white marble (Figs. 15, 16), on which the rape of Proserpina was represented in relief. Above the sarcophagus rose a gilded arch with a statue and an inscription, which designated the grave as that of Charlemagne, "the great and orthodox emperor, who gloriously enlarged the kingdom of the Franks." After a hundred and eighty-six years the half-crazy Otto III. opened the tomb from unhallowed curiosity; but the story that he found the dead emperor seated on the throne in his full imperial attire is a mere fable. One hundred and fifty years later Frederick I. caused Charlemagne's bones to be removed, in order to replace them again on the occasion of the canonization of the great emperor, which was performed by the antipope set up by Frederick, and was intended to aid the policy of the house of Hohenstaufen. Although the act was done by a pope who was repudiated as unorthodox, the church acknowledged the canonization of Charlemagne,



FIG. 15. Marble sarcophagus of Charlemagne. Roman work representing the Rape of Proserpina. In the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle.

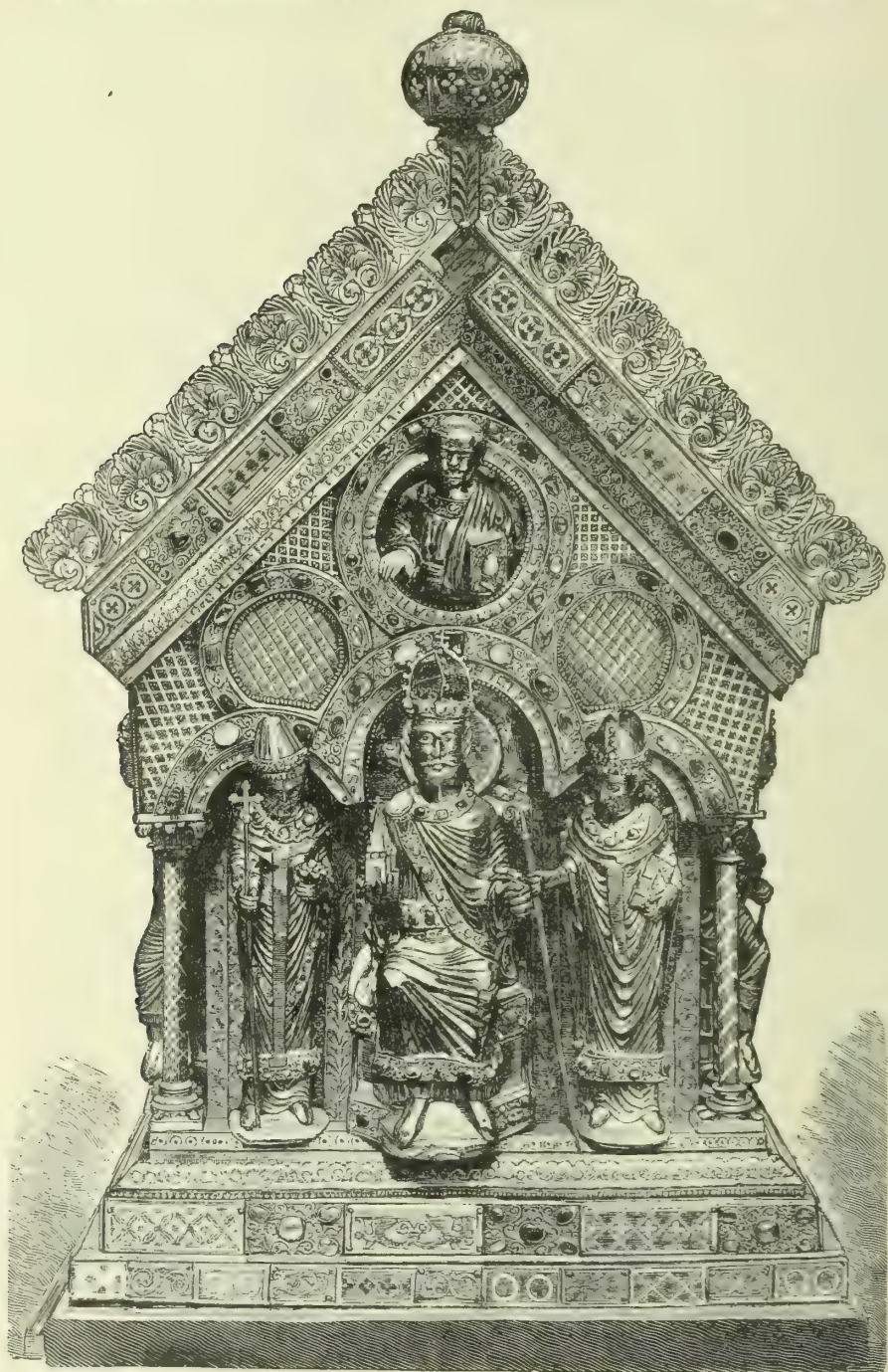


FIG. 16. - The silver shrine containing the remains of Charlemagne, in the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. The scene represents Charlemagne seated between two bishops. This shrine, of which only one end is here figured, was made toward the close of the twelfth century.

who since the ninth century was more and more commonly designated by the surname of 'the Great.' Scarcely any other ruler ever so richly deserved this honor at its hands.

From the hints found in our sources, scanty and cautious as they are, one obtains the impression that, after the death of the emperor, the uncomfortable feeling prevailed among his family, friends, courtiers, and officers, that the good old times had now come to an end, and everything must soon be changed. The contrast between the new emperor and his father had long been no secret. Louis himself was conscious of it, and did not disguise from himself the fact that many people looked forward to his reign with displeasure and distrust. He seems to have even taken into account the possibility that resistance would be made to his mounting the throne. However, nothing of the sort took place; and Hoduin, a relative of the royal family, who foolishly attempted it, perished under the executioner's axe. When, toward the last of February, Emperor Louis entered Aix-la-Chapelle, he carried out exactly the provisions that Charlemagne had made, in a will drawn up in 811, for the division of his treasures among churches and monasteries, relatives and servants; but he broke up his father's household, consigned his sisters to convents, and banished several nobles whom he suspected on account of their influence, such as Adalhard of Corbie, and his brother, Count Wala, who were sons of Bernhard, the brother of king Pepin I. In contrast to the joyous though dissolute cheerfulness which had hitherto characterized the Carolingian court, it was destined henceforth to minister to the strict religious spirit to which the new ruler had habituated himself from his youth up. From him issued a new impulse, which endangered the internal peace of the empire, and soon imperilled the foundations of the system that Charlemagne had called into being.

Emperor Louis was born in 778, and was now thirty-six years of age. His outward appearance was stately, and his bearing dignified. He was skilled in all the arts of chivalry, and was unpretending and affable in his intercourse with others. He surprised one, however, by a vein of weakness and irresolution, from which the Carolingian house had previously been free. His excessive religious zeal, which could not satisfy itself with pious exercises, biassed his political judgment, as soon became evident. His taste for theological speculations made him unable to act with decision in temporal matters. His was an insignificant, dependent nature,

inclined to shrink in terror from the obstacles that confronted it, and constantly afraid of coming into collision with the church, or of endangering its own salvation. In short, Louis the Pious — this surname, even among his contemporaries, implied a certain degree of censure — was subject to the changing influences of his environment, and, in particular, became a pliant instrument in the hands of clerical agitators. These men knew how to make an impression on him from the religious side, by reminding him of his duty toward the church, although he had a high conception of the importance and the rights of the imperial office. Under Charlemagne the Germanic basis of the Frankish nation had never been called in question; but to Louis, who had grown up in Aquitania, which was not at all Teutonic, and whose religious zeal had been inflamed by the hostility of the Christians there to their Mohammedan neighbors, 'Germanic' and 'barbarous,' 'barbarous' and 'heathenish,' meant one and the same thing. The extirpation of the remnants of the old Germanic national life, which his more prudent father had cherished with care, seemed to him to be a sacred duty toward the Christian religion. He even went so far as purposely to devote to destruction the legends and songs of antiquity which had been collected at his father's order. Thus, the more that his peculiarities became developed, the more the relation between the Germanic and Romance peoples, as well as that between the church and state, became altered, and converted into the opposite of those that had previously existed. The resistance of the element thus threatened could not fail to shatter the framework of the Carolingian state, and finally drove it into premature decay.

The impression which the change of rulers produced in Rome was especially significant in this regard. Leo III. did not exact an oath of allegiance from the Romans for the new emperor. It appears that Louis's emperorship, since it had been transferred to him without the aid of the church, was regarded as not entirely legitimate, and therefore as not binding upon Rome and the church. This resulted in new party conflicts in the Eternal City, during which Leo III. died. His successor, Stephen IV., hastened to repair the neglect of his predecessor, and caused the Eternal City to do reverence to Louis. But the relation that had thus far existed between the empire and the papacy underwent an essential change when Stephen himself came into the kingdom of the Franks in the autumn of 816. There he was received by Louis with the

In nomine domini Amen
Et licet nosmetipsos fideles prosequatur
fidelium nostrorum In honore Sti Stephani protomartyris xpi
Ceteris largitas precepta sancte fidei carnis loco nre
et pulchrum uelut semper in se xpo uiuentibus perficiamus
ipse datus omne In deum nam nosmetipsos per pulchrum possidetur
num proficere
Eius hodiecupimus
firmissime possumus

de p[er]petua anno xpo pprio xx imperii domini huiusmodi perim. au

Reduced Facsimile of a Charter of Louis the Pious

Dated June 1, 833, at Worms. (p)

conuincimus p[ro]p[ri]etate imp[er]ialis omnibus iudicib[us]

quando locumque monasterium l[ic]et exone p[er] ip[s]um d[omi]no s[an]c[t]o

ratione fungamur. Et ad p[ro]p[ri]etate subd[omi]n[u]m quicquid p[re]sentibus inuenimus

et p[er] e[ss]e quicquid m[on]asterii p[ro]p[ri]etate indiget m[on]asterium n[ost]r[u]m iudicib[us]

quatenus cum omni p[ro]p[ri]etate et quicquid u[er]um d[omi]n[u]m u[er]um p[ro]p[ri]etate et quicquid

aliter m[on]asterium p[ro]p[ri]etate et quicquid m[on]asterium n[ost]r[u]m hoc u[er]um d[omi]n[u]m

et quicquid subd[omi]n[u]m. Et quicquid u[er]um d[omi]n[u]m p[ro]p[ri]etate subd[omi]n[u]m

EST

conuincimus

inditione p[ro]p[ri]etate et quicquid u[er]um d[omi]n[u]m p[ro]p[ri]etate

establishing a Mint at Corvei, in favor of the Abbey.

proposed and written by Hirminmaris.

most distinguished honors; and in the Church of St. Mary, at Rheims, he placed upon the head of the emperor a crown which he had brought with him for the purpose. Without doubt this act diminished the importance of Louis's self-coronation of September 11, 813, and the pope thereby laid claim to the right of bestowing the imperial crown as his own prerogative. Henceforth the papacy ceased to be subordinate to the empire, and both appeared on an equal footing. Although the great political consequences of this step did not begin to be felt until afterwards, yet the church of the Frankish empire at once reaped great benefit from it. Louis did not think it enough to lavish estates and revenues upon the church; he felt that he was obliged to prove his piety by freeing churches and monasteries from the services and dues which they were under obligations to render to the state from their temporal possessions. By exempting their precincts also from the jurisdiction of the temporal authorities, he promoted the growth of the privileges of the church, which finally led, as a matter of course, to the almost complete separation of its domains from those of the state.

Only in one direction did the realm profit by Louis's pious zeal. Charlemagne had violently torn the future ecclesiastics of Saxon descent from their native land, and immured them in Frankish monasteries, there to be educated for their mission. Louis strove to increase the number of these seminaries in Saxony itself, and so really to win over the coming generations to Christianity. Thus, in particular, he aided Adalhard the younger—the abbot of the monastery of Corbie on the Somme, to which Charlemagne had sent young Saxons for religious instruction—in founding a daughter-institution in the heart of Saxony, a step which had been resolved upon in 815 (PLATE VII.¹) Thus arose Corvei on the Weser.

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

Facsimile of a charter of Louis the Pious establishing a mint at Corvei, in favor of the Abbey. Dated June 1, 833, at Worms. (The original, written on parchment, is in Archives at Münster.) Composed and written by Hirminmaris. Length, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

TRANSCRIPTION.

In nomine domini ei Det salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi Hludowicus divina [ordivina]* ordinante providentia imperator augustus. Omnibus sanctae Dei | ecclesiae nostrisque fidelibus, praesentibus scilicet atque futuris notum esse volumus, quomodo Corbagense monasterium in Saxonia propiciante domino cum consensu | fidelium nostrorum in honore sancti Stephani, protomartiris Christi, devotissima intentione fundavimus et ibi competentia subsidia quaeque prae manibus invenimus, | debita largi-

* Written divina ordivina ordinante, for divina ordinante.

near Hlöxter, which soon spread its beneficent influence far and wide. The more thorough conversion of Saxony affected also the neighboring heathen lands, especially since internal commotions, disputes about the throne, and eventful party conflicts opened Denmark and the Nordalbingian territory to the political influence of the Frankish monarchy. Harold, the king of the Danes, received baptism while staying at Louis's court at Mayence, to which he had fled for protection. When he returned to Denmark with the support of his god-father, Louis, for the purpose of regaining power, he was accompanied by two monks of Corvei, who established Christianity more firmly in that country, and so carried on the work that had been begun by Archbishop Ebo of Rheims, the friend of Louis's youth.

tate praedicto sanctificationis loco nostra in elimosina contulimus, insuper etiam, quia locum mereationis ipsa regio indigebat, monetam nostrae auctoritatis publicam ultra ibi semper inesse Christo militantibus proficuum statuimus. Quatenus cum omnitegritate ** absque ullius contradictione vel impedimenti occasione locus | ipse sanctitatis omne inde redditum nostrae auctoritatis publicum possideat et utilitatibus monasterii perpetuis temporibus multiplicatum nostrum hoc largitatis donum proficiat. Et ut fiduciali perpetuitate haec omnia nostrae auctoritatis dona sibi pociatur et teneat, anuli nostri impressione subter roborando | firmare decrevimus.

Signum ✠ Hludowici serenissimi imperatoris.

Hirminmaris notarius ad vicem Theotonis recognovi et subscripsi.

Data kalendas Junias anno Christo propitio XX imperio domni Hludowici piissimi augusti. Indictione XI. Actum Wormacia civitate. In dei nomine feliciter amen.

TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Lord God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Louis by the ordinance of divine providence emperor exalted. By all faithful to the holy church of God and to us we desire it to be known that we have founded the monastery at Corvei in Saxony, by the aid of the Lord and with the consent of our faithful subjects, in honor of St. Stephen, protomartyr of Christ, with most religious intent; and that all the resources that we are possessed of, we have bestowed, with due generosity, upon said holy place as an alms; and chiefly, since that region lacks a spot for traffic we have ordained that a public mint, authorized by ourselves, shall be established, and forever continue for the benefit of the soldiers of Christ there residing. Without any limitation or the gainsaying of any, or possibility of restraint, that holy place shall possess all the incomes due to our dominion, and may this gift of our bounty, multiplied for time immemorial, prove a continual benefit to the monastery. And that all these gifts of our power may retain their force with a permanence to be relied upon, we have determined to give them weight by the impress of our seal ring.

Sign ✠ of Louis Most Serene Emperor.

I, Hirminmaris, notary, in the stead of Theoto have read and signed my name.

Given this first of May, with the blessing of Christ, in the twentieth year of the reign of Louis most pious, exalted (emperor). In the eleventh of the indiction. Done in the city of Worms. In the name of God: may good fortune prevail: amen!

** Read *omni integritate*.



EMPEROR LOTHAIR.

MINIATURE IN AN EVANGELIARY OF THE NINTH CENTURY. PARIS NATIONAL LIBRARY.
(AFTER BASTARD.)

One of these monks, Ansgar, became the Apostle of the North. In this decidedly peaceful character of the mission, Louis differs from his father, who prepared the way for conversion by force of arms and merciless severity.

The memory of Charlemagne remained for many years the main safeguard of the frontier. Only a few petty disturbances and incursions required chastisement. But this charm vanished ever more swiftly as Louis the Pious, by his fickleness and undignified dependence on women and priests, went on to destroy his father's great creation.

Louis followed the example of his father, who, in accordance with an ancient custom of the Frankish monarchy, had placed his sons over separate provinces. Soon after his accession to the throne, the new emperor made Lothair, the eldest of the three sons whom his wife Irmengard had borne him, viceroy of Bavaria. His second son, Pepin, he placed in charge of Aquitania, the province which he himself had previously governed. King Bernhard, son of Pepin, was viceroy in Italy. The unity of the empire was thus increased, and Italy was more firmly united with it than it had been under King Pepin. This fact accorded with the centralizing tendency which became felt as the influence of the church preponderated, and which had held its first triumph when Louis was crowned emperor by the pope. The church gained by the removal of the separation that existed between the different provinces, and hence it strove to establish the complete unity of the empire.

By the fall of the light wooden gallery that led from the imperial palace in Aix-la-Chapelle to the church of St. Mary close by, Louis barely escaped death as he was returning from the mass on 'Green Thursday' (April 9, 817). The priests who surrounded him at court made use of this accident to induce him to set his house in order prematurely. They also suggested to him the way in which this should be done: he was to make his eldest son, Lothair, co-emperor with himself. When in July, 817, the great imperial assembly had gathered in Aix-la-Chapelle to carry out this project, they besought God three days with fasting that he would impart to the emperor what was most advantageous for the realm. This, of course, afterward proved to be what had been resolved upon by the ecclesiastical conclave, and it was thus stamped as a revelation from heaven. Accordingly Lothair was made co-emperor (PLATE VIII.); but at the same time provision was made for the two younger

brothers: Pepin received Aquitania and Gascony, with several counties of Septimania, while Louis received Bavaria with the exception of the north canton. Pepin and Louis, to be sure, were even now to be nothing more than privileged viceroys. They had the right to appoint ecclesiastical and civil officials in their respective domains, but did not have power to decide about war and peace, nor to deal independently with foreign powers. They were required to appear regularly at the court, and offer yearly presents, could not marry without the consent of their elder brother, and were forbidden to subdivide their realms among their sons. If they did not have legitimate children, their domains were to fall to Lothair at their death. On the other hand, they were allowed only a limited right of inheritance to his territory; for after his death, the succession of the imperial office was to be decided in the same way as it had lately been determined at Aix-la-Chapelle, i.e., the decision actually remained in the hands of the clergy. In particular, the emperor was assigned the right and duty of assisting the church to maintain its possessions undiminished; and also he was given numerous rights of supervision and punishment, to be exercised on the other brothers if he saw occasion. Apparently the main object of the ecclesiastics who originated the ordinance of 817, by which the inheritance was regulated, was to make the property and rights of the church secure; and everything else only served as a means to this end.

At all events, it was a new kind of unity that was thus forced upon the empire for the advantage of the church. One might well suspect that some far-reaching design lay behind it. The person who felt himself most threatened was, of course, King Bernhard of Italy. He had not been asked his opinion, nor even been invited to Aix-la-Chapelle. What certainty could he have that the statute of inheritance signified that Italy was to be subject to Emperor Lothair merely as it had been to the father and grandfather of the latter? Bernhard was probably all the more opposed to the influence of the clergy, as he had already energetically resisted the efforts of Leo III. to throw off the Frankish supremacy at the death of Charlemagne. Many persons may have regarded him as the destined heir of his great ancestor; and, of course, there were not lacking those, who in their restless ambition, goaded on the discontent of the spirited youth, for the sake of the advantage which they hoped to reap from it. King Bernhard soon stood at the head of a conspiracy of lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries, chiefly of Italy, who aimed to depose

Louis, and make him emperor in his stead. But the enterprise evidently had no support among the people. Even before the revolt broke out, Louis, who had received timely warning, cut off all prospect of its success by displaying a mighty army north of the Alps. Bernhard made a contrite submission at Châlons, on the Saône, which town the emperor had already reached on his way to



FIG. 17. — Seals of Louis the Pious, as king and as emperor.

Italy. At Easter, 818, the youth received his sentence from an imperial assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle. He and his lay accomplices were condemned to death, but Louis (Figs. 17, 19) commuted the punishment to blinding. When the latter penalty was executed, Bernhard received severe injuries, from which he died two days afterward (April 17).

This bloody incident had no immediate political consequences; but how deeply must it have moved those who remembered the warn-



FIG. 18. — Coin of Pope Paschal I. Obv.: ROMA in monogram. Legend: † IVDOV-
VICVS IMP. Rev.: PASCHALIS in monogram. Legend: SCS PETRVS.

ing that Charlemagne had given to his sons twelve years before by forbidding them to put a son or nephew to death, or mutilate or blind him, or force him to become a monk, unless the charges against him had been proved, and sentence pronounced by a court? To be sure, in this case the guilt of the accused had been proven and confessed, and the solemn form of judicial procedure had been observed: yet Bernhard's fate must have deeply shocked all humane people, and have filled them with hatred and horror of those who

had advised the emperor to such a deed. Louis himself could not escape the pangs of remorse, and now gave himself up entirely to the influence of the monks who surrounded him. Moreover, the empress Irmengard died soon afterwards. Louis may have considered this as a punishment from heaven, or it may have been represented to him as such; no doubt the common people so understood it, although it cannot be proved, and is in itself improbable that Irmengard exercised any influence on Bernhard's fate.

Certainly nothing could have been more unwelcome to the ecclesiastics who ruled at the court than to have Louis carry out the idea, which then occurred to him, of abdicating and retiring to a cloister. Instead of this, he soon concluded a new marriage with the daughter of the Alamannic Count Welf, the beautiful, highly educated, able and energetic Judith. She soon gained complete control of him, and her political influence steadily increased. To be sure, the statute of inheritance of 817 remained in force for a time; it was even solemnly confirmed and sworn to in the spring of 821 at Nimwegen, and still again in the autumn of the same year on occasion of the wedding of Lothair with Irmengard, the daughter of Count Hugo of Tours. At the same time, the lay accomplices of the unfortunate Bernhard, who had been punished with banishment and the loss of their property, were pardoned by Louis. This, however, seemed to be not an act of imperial mercy, but the expression of remorse, which could no longer refrain from confessing that a wrong had been committed. Louis was finally driven so far by his priestly advisers, that in August, 822, at an imperial assembly in Attigny, he made publicly a formal confession of his sins, in which the crime committed against Bernhard and his accomplices naturally took a prominent place. This proceeding was so extraordinary, its influence on Louis's position so momentous, and its effect on the development of the empire so decisive, that it can scarcely be attributed to a momentary collapse of the weak moral strength of the remorse-stricken emperor. We can rather see in it the skilfully planned and systematically executed work of the priestly party at court. That party already felt itself so sure of its ground that at Attigny it suggested the idea that the property of the church which had been confiscated under former reigns should be restored to it. But the secular nobility, who would have had to bear the expense of such a restitution, raised such violent opposition that the matter was allowed to rest for the time being.

The events, also, which took place soon afterward in Rome must have taught the clerical party that its time had not yet come. Even the Romans had perceived Louis's weakness. They had chosen Paschal I. (817-824, Fig. 18) as a successor to Stephen IV., (who had died in 817), without regarding the rights of the emperor. The latter had assented to the choice. But now matters took a still more dangerous turn. When Lothair appeared in the Eternal City at Easter, 823, Paschal I. crowned him emperor. This, apparently, was not in order to give religious sanction to the statute of inheritance of 817, but for the purpose of showing that the imperial dignity emanated from the supreme authority of the church, in contradiction to the principle of a hereditary monarchy, which had been recognized in the Frankish empire since 813. After Lothair left Rome, violent disputes over this point arose there between the imperial and papal parties. The former was defeated, and bloody punishment was inflicted on its leaders. The intervention of the emperor's plenipotentiaries produced no change; the pope swore that he was free from all complicity in the matter, but still maintained the guilt of those who had been put to death, and refused to give up their murderers. In Rome, as well as elsewhere, the imperial authority was already in a state of rapid decline.

Under such circumstances, the birth of the son whom Judith bore on June 13, 823, in Frankfort, proved momentous for the imperial house and the empire. Her influence on her weak-minded husband was thereby increased; and she had henceforth the natural wish to see her son placed on an equality with his half-brothers, and supplied with a kingdom. Accordingly the statute of inheritance and the division of the empire, although they had repeatedly been solemnly confirmed, were directly called in question. Judith paid court to the heads of the clergy; she named the emperor Lothair, who had returned from Italy, to be the god-father of her son, and honored him as the child's natural protector, while at the same time she tried to alienate him from his other brothers. Her efforts were successful. Lothair refused at first, but soon consented; he promised to protect the little Charles in the possession of the kingdom which was afterwards to be assigned to him, and was rewarded by being formally associated in the power, whereas up to this time he had only borne the title of emperor. At first this proved an advantage to the realm; it became clear that the government was in more vigorous hands. In Rome, after the death of Paschal I.,

Eugenius II. was raised to the papal chair, and this time the emperor's rights were again disregarded. This caused Lothair to interpose with vigor. By a decree of November 24, 824, he restored to the emperor the right of supervision over the pope and his officials, and secured to him the due influence over the papal elections, the validity of which still depended on their confirmation by the emperor. The Romans were obliged to bind themselves by an oath to observe this law.

But Lothair could not take such decisive measures in every case, and the spirit in which he did it can scarcely have found approval with his father's clerical advisers. Moreover, the security of the borders began to vanish. In the north the Danes, after expelling King Harold, relapsed into heathenism: in the south the Spanish March was invaded and devastated by the Arabs, and in the south-east the Bulgarians reconquered part of the land that had been wrested from them. Under these circumstances the clergy at the court could find no other resource than to deprive of their offices and ties the leaders who were unsuccessful in the field, or were not sufficiently watchful and prompt. This fate overtook even Count Hugo of Tours (the father-in-law of the Emperor Lothair), because he was culpably slow in protecting the Spanish March. The priests also raised loud complaints over the decay of the empire, and urgently demanded reforms, the chief benefit of which would, of course, fall to the church. For although at the imperial assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, in February of 828, many abuses were discussed which had crept in among the clergy, and especially among those of the court; yet the complaints that were made at that time related chiefly to secular evils, particularly the strife of factions at the court, the avarice of the emperor's counsellors, the venality of the counts and other officers, etc. At all events, it was a strange proceeding when it was resolved to hold four provincial synods for the purpose of introducing the needed reforms. To these synods religious and civil matters were to be intrusted for decision. Thus the clericalization of the empire advanced another step: and with this corresponded also the decrees of the four synods, which were held in Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, and Mayence, in the summer of 829, for the purpose of saving the sinful state by religious means of discipline. They attributed all the misery and misfortune that weighed down the land and the people to the lack of a correct demarcation of the royal power from the priestly authority. In making this separa-

tion they were to start from the principle that the one, indivisible body of the church appeared in two persons, — the pope and the emperor. The essential thing was that the superiority of the former to the latter should be universally and unconditionally recognized; and the emperor should require this especially from his sons

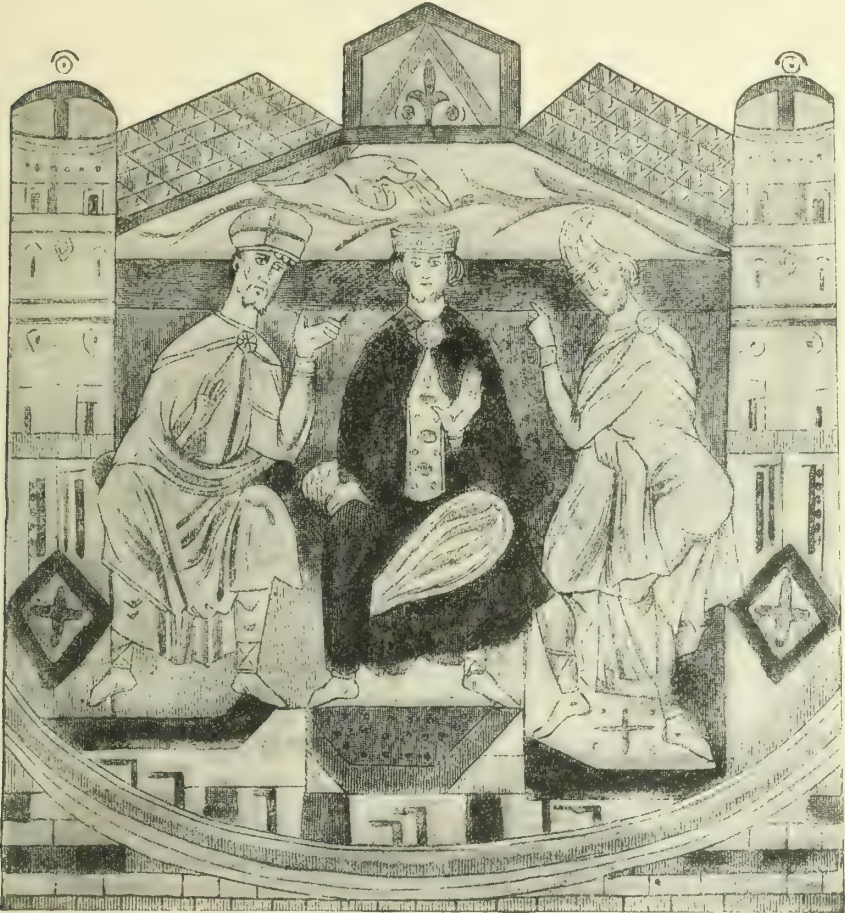


FIG. 19. — Portrait of Louis the Pious. (From a miniature in a manuscript in the National Library at Paris.)

and the counts of the empire, for only in that way could the realm be freed from the punishment sent upon it by God. The propositions of the synods concerned both church and state alike; and if carried out they would have brought the government all the more surely into the hands of the clergy, as in the future also provincial synods, which were to meet every year, were to carry on the ecclesi-

astical supervision of the state, which had just begun. Although it was pretended that it was merely a question of separating the church from the state, yet that separation could not fail to result in an abdication of the state in favor of the church, as it did so often in after times. Indeed, the demand was already expressed that the clergy should be released from all services and obligations toward the state, so that they might give their undivided attention to their religious duties.

Without doubt this programme of reform suited the views of Louis the Pious. The ecclesiastical splendor which would necessarily surround his throne, if this system were carried into effect, would have been to this feeble mind ample compensation for the loss of worldly power and kingly honor. But the religious revolution which was under way threatened to affect immediately circles that were not in the least inclined to sacrifice their worldly wealth and civil rights to such a shadow. The secular nobles had always had an important share in the rich possessions of the church; and the increasing development of the 'beneficiary' system had enlarged and multiplied that share. But these rights were now threatened; and the nobles not only saw their political influence, which had been already so unfairly diminished, again endangered, but had also to apprehend serious damage to their business interests. The way in which prominent men, even those closely related to the imperial house, like the Count of Tours, had been sacrificed to their clerical accusers, on the ground of unproved charges or pardonable offences, had already deeply embittered the nobility. In order to bring their discontent to an open outburst, there was needed only a crowning offence, or a pretext, which might cause an influential leader to place himself at their head.

This pretext Louis himself supplied. Believing himself, from the declarations of the four synods, to be absolutely sure of the powerful aid of the church, and therefore master of the situation, he just at this time carried out Judith's wishes. Contrary to the statute of 817, he assigned to the six-year old Charles, as a separate kingdom, Alamannia, Alsace, and Rhaetia, with a part of Burgundy, although by this act he called the principle of the unity of the empire in question. Lothair, whose rights were thus violated, had now the same interests as the discontented nobles, and the more, as he was deprived of his share in the government, in consequence of the conflict with his father which he now commenced.

On the other hand, the clergy were displeased that the principle of the unity of the empire had been imperilled. Thus Louis and his wife stood between two hostile parties, that seemed about to unite against them. In this emergency they called in Count Bernhard of Barcelona, who belonged to a noble family related to the royal house, and appointed him chamberlain, placing him at the head of the court and the state to crush the opposition. But he was a man of reckless violence, and prone to adopt sweeping measures, as well as ambitious, and eager for power. He drew the reins far too tight, and spoiled everything by a kind of *coup d'état*. He wished to bring the refractory nobles under military discipline, by summoning them to an expedition against the Bretons; but this only hastened the outbreak of the revolt. As he wished to begin the expedition during Lent, and continue it during Easter, he aroused the anger of the clergy, and thus led both parties to take measures against him in common. The accession of Lothair and of Pepin, who had likewise taken up arms against his father, decided the victory in favor of the rebels at the very first attack. Bernhard fled in despair; Judith was taken prisoner, and saved her life only by promising to induce her husband to enter a cloister. But Lothair, who now appeared in the midst of the victorious insurgents at Compiègne, did not intend to dethrone his father. He could not have done this without granting Pepin and Louis greater independence in their respective territories, and thus infringing still more upon the unity



FIG. 20. — Coin issued in common by Louis the Pious and his son Lothair when associated in government. Obv. † H L V D O V I C V S I M P. Rev. † H L O T A R I V S I M P.

of the realm. For the present Lothair wished only to regain his influential position as co-ruler (Fig. 20); and his efforts coincided with the wishes of the clergy. Louis the Pious entered eagerly upon the way of escape unexpectedly opened to him by the dissensions that were arising among his opponents. Thus peace was restored; but, although Louis was still called emperor, he had in effect abdicated in favor of his eldest son, and, with the young Charles, was kept imprisoned in the cloister of St. Medardus in Soissons, where renewed efforts were made to induce him to turn monk.

With this result, those who had borne the toil and danger of the insurrection were dissatisfied. Pepin had been obliged to give way to Lothair, and had come away with empty hands; and Louis the younger, surnamed 'the German' from the situation of his dominions, also saw his own power threatened by Lothair's efforts. Hence it was easy for the father, when he opened secret communication with them from Soissons, to draw over to himself his two younger sons, by promising them to enlarge their dominions as a reward for aiding him against Lothair. The prisoner of Soissons was once more master of the situation; and in October of 830, at an imperial assembly in Nimwegen, to which the Germans especially, who had remained true to him, thronged in great numbers, he could again exercise full authority. Lothair seems to have at first thought of making resistance, but a private interview between him and his father caused matters to take a peaceful turn. He promised to mend his ways, and swore a new oath of allegiance to Louis. His accomplices, however, remained in prison awaiting their condemnation. Penances were imposed on the clergy who had taken part in the rebellion. Pepin and Louis the German, as well as their brother, now purchased their father's forgiveness by sacrificing their associates. In February of 831 an imperial assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle issued severe penal mandates against many of the rebels. To crown the emperor's victory, and complete the humiliation of his opponents, Judith, too, appeared there, and was received with the honors due to the empress. The shameful insinuations with which her political and personal enemies had persecuted her, and striven to ruin her, were now to be finally silenced. The most important of these charges was that of having carried on an adulterous intrigue with Bernhard of Barcelona, but it was never proved. No accuser ventured to appear against the empress at Aix-la-Chapelle. However, at the wish of the assembly she took a solemn oath of purgation, by which she showed her innocence of all that had been falsely imputed to her. The vow of nun, which she had been forced to take while in prison, was annulled as invalid.

Louis the Pious had obtained an unexpected and undeserved success, but he did not understand how to turn it to account. Those whom he had at first terrified at Aix-la-Chapelle by unexpected severity, he strove soon afterwards at Ingelheim, in May, 831, to reconcile by granting them mercy for which they had not asked. His rebellious sons had lost in the eyes of their own party

by sacrificing their helpers; and it may be that he wished by this act of mercy at Ingelheim to deprive them of their entire following, and make them unable to hinder his further plans. Influenced by Judith, with whom Count Bernhard of Barcelona again appeared at court, Louis wished first to punish Pepin of Aquitania; and by the fall of the latter, splendid provision was to be made for the young Charles. Lothair was now only viceroy of Italy, and Louis the German had not recovered from his vexation at the loss of Alamannia. They seemed inclined to aid their father in despoiling Pepin. But scarcely had the emperor set out for Aquitania in 832, when Louis revolted in his rear, and seized upon Alamannia. But the hoped-for revolt of the other German peoples did not take place; and Louis was compelled, by his father's swift return to Bavaria, to submit, and renew his oath of allegiance. In the autumn of 832 Pepin was overpowered, and brought as a prisoner to Treves. Count Bernhard, who had gone over to him, after quarrelling with the court, was deprived of his offices and fiefs. Judith's son received Aquitania. But a new turn of affairs soon ensued. Pepin escaped, and placed himself again at the head of his Aquitanians. The emperor's campaign against him proved successful at first, but ended with a deplorable reverse. The army was almost destroyed by guerilla warfare and the horrors of a winter that came on prematurely. But the main thing was, that the purposes of Judith and her tool, the emperor, were now apparent. The sons by the first marriage were to be excluded from their rights; Charles was to be made in their stead the representative of the future unity of the empire; and the fate that had just overtaken Pepin was to come upon Lothair and Louis at the next opportunity. Only by combining for defence could the latter hope to protect themselves.

These events summoned Lothair from Italy in the spring of 833. Pope Gregory IV. (827-844) appeared with him in order to throw the papal authority into the scale in favor of Lothair and of the unity of the empire, which was threatened by the quarrels in the imperial family. The pope (Fig. 21) censured in severe terms the repeated violations of the statute of inheritance of 817 during the last few years. This statute, he said, had been sanctioned by the church; and it was the violation of it that had caused all the distress under which the empire was suffering. But part of the clergy still clung to the cause of Louis, and refused to yield to the pope's admonitions. Thus to the division in the royal house and

the empire was added, as it seemed, a division of the church. Every way of coming to a peaceful understanding seemed closed, and only force of arms could now decide the quarrel. Already, on St. John's Day (June 24), 833, the three sons with their armies lay encamped together in Alsace, near Colmar. The emperor Louis came marching up the Rhine from Worms in that direction, bringing Judith and Charles with him, and took up his position opposite his sons. Then Pope Gregory IV. himself made an attempt at reconciliation, and for that purpose remained several days in the camp of Louis the Pious. What he really did there we do not know; but one should take into consideration the fact that he had threatened with severe religious penalties the Frankish clergy who had upheld against him the departures that were made from the statute of inheritance of 817. When we see how many of these ecclesiastics afterwards abandoned the old emperor, and went over to his sons,



FIG. 21. — Coin of Pope Gregory IV. Obv.: Monogram of PIVS. Legend: LVDOV-VICVS IMP. Rev.: Monogram of GREGOR(IVS). Legend: SCS. PETRVS.

one will scarcely be inclined to think that the pope was acting at this time in the father's interest. On the contrary, everything favors the view that he was engaged in the far-reaching plot to which Louis the Pious soon after fell a victim on the "Field of Lies," near Colmar. No doubt the rebellious sons, also, were lavish of tempting promises. The inconsistent and unreliable behavior of the old emperor himself must have puzzled even his most zealous partisans. It seemed that, as long as the power lay in his hands, no permanent restoration of order could be expected; for one could not rely upon the exact fulfilment of any arrangement that was opposed to the intrigues of Judith and her helpers. Both religious and secular dignitaries began to go over to the camp of the sons, at first in small groups, then in larger numbers, until finally they actually flocked in crowds to the emperor's opponents. Louis saw himself, Judith, and Charles still surrounded by a small circle of faithful followers; but this was all. Under the approval, if not the direct encouragement and leadership, of the head of the church, such per-

jury and desertion had been committed as the Christian world had never before seen. From this spectacle the nations turned with horror; for now all right, all honor, all respect for law, seemed to have vanished. Hence the sympathies of all who were not accomplices in the deed turned to its victim, and soon all the errors by which he had brought such a fate upon himself were forgotten. Resistance was of course out of the question for the handful of men who still clung to Louis, when, on June 30, after the negotiations were broken off, his sons approached for the attack. He himself advised his followers to make terms with the conquerors, and gave himself, together with Judith and his youngest son, into the power of his foes, after receiving a pledge that he, his wife, and Charles, should not receive injury to life or person. The father and son remained in Lothair's keeping; Judith, in that of Louis the German.



FIG. 22. — Seals of Lothair I., as king and as emperor. Reduced.

But she was afterwards brought into Lothair's domains, to northern Italy.

Louis the Pious had actually ceased to reign (Fig. 24). Without further delay Lothair took his place, and received from his subjects the oath of allegiance. But the new emperor did not dare to let the brothers who had helped him to achieve this success go unrewarded. Pepin was given back Aquitaine, and also received the duchy of Maine, and the maritime districts between the Loire and the Seine. Louis retained Bavaria, and was given in addition Alamannia, Alsace, Thuringia, and Saxony, and part of the East-Frankish country. The rest of the empire, which included Austrasia proper, with its capital, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Italy, Lothair combined into a long, central realm.

This result must have rudely undeceived the papal allies of the rebellious sons. The former had wished to maintain the unity of the realm by helping to dethrone the old emperor; but the consequence had been a more complete division of it than would ever have been

produced by Louis's alteration of the statute of inheritance of 817. But for that very reason Louis's sons did not trust the bishops; and in order to hinder the latter from again going over to the old emperor, they determined to destroy his moral standing, and so make him forever incapable of reigning. They found suitable instruments among the religious dignitaries of the court. Louis the Pious was again kept in the monastery of St. Medardus at Soissons; and there the archbishops Ebo of Rheims (the friend of his youth) and Agobard of Lyons, with the aid of the zealous monks, pressed him until he declared his readiness to do public penance, and make such amends to the church as might be required of him. On this occasion a long list of all his misdeeds, drawn up by a synod held at Compiègne, was to be publicly read. At Soissons the clergy, Emperor Lothair, numerous lay nobles (Fig. 23), and the common people, who viewed the proceedings with indignation, assembled together. In their presence the old emperor, after being admonished by the bishops to real atonement and sincere repentance, made his confession. He admitted that, as stated by the documents that were handed to him, he had been guilty of profanation of holy things, of murder, and of perjury. The first of these he was said to have committed by summoning troops against the Bretons during Lent in 830; the second by causing the death of his nephew Bernhard; and the third by his repeated violation of the oath to perform faithfully the duties of a sovereign, which at his self-coronation, in 813, he had sworn to his father. Not only were the errors due to his own weakness reckoned against him as mortal offences, but he was also made responsible for the crimes committed by others during the commotions of which he was the cause. The robberies and murders, the perjuries and breaches of promise, of which his followers had been guilty in the last three years, were all represented as committed by him in person. The reading of this document was equivalent to a moral suicide; and by this act he also basely abandoned all who had clung to him, and fought and suffered in his behalf. After the document had been read, the emperor was obliged to exchange the knightly garb for the sackcloth of a penitent. When the proceedings had been solemnly recorded, Louis was held as a prisoner of state, at first in Compiègne, afterwards at Aix-la-Chapelle. But he still obstinately resisted the efforts of those who wished to make him a monk.

But these doings at Soissons recoiled with deadly force upon those who had instigated them. In the German provinces, espe-



FIG. 23. — A Frankish prince. The prince stands between two bishops, who hold in their arms their service-books, and are robed in chasuble, casula, surplice, long tunic, and pallium, the latter ornamented with figures of the cross. From the clouds the hand of the Almighty is extended, holding a crown above the head of the prince. The latter wears a purple mantle, held at the right shoulder by a brooch, a bright-colored tunic embroidered with gold threads, a belt set with jewels, of which only the hanging end is visible. On his legs are the tight-fitting femoralia. Miniature from a missal of the second half of the ninth century, from the church at Metz, but now in the National Library at Paris.

cially, the tidings of what had happened aroused a storm of indignation. Even Pepin and Louis the German, however deeply they had sinned against their father, had not contemplated such an outrage as this. They turned from Lothair with all the greater decision, because it seemed that in the whole transaction he and the church had been playing into one another's hands at their expense. This very synod had renewed the decrees by which its predecessors proclaimed that the state was subordinate to the church, and impressed upon



FIG. 24. — Coins of Louis the Pious.

1. Obv.: In the field a cross with four globes. Legend: † HLVDVVICVS IMP.
Rev.: A church. Legend: † ✠ PISTIANA RELIGIO.
2. As No. 1, except that there is a cross, without globes, on both obverse and reverse.
3. Obv.: head of emperor, with laurel wreath. Legend: HLVDVVICVS IMP AVG
(Imperator Augustus.) Rev.: ship, with oars. Legend: † DORESTATVS (Dürstadt, minting-place.)
4. Obv.: as in No. 3. Rev.: church or gateway with legend, † STRAZBVRG.
5. On both sides a church, with slight variations. Legend: † ✠ PISTIANA RELIGIO.

all temporal authorities the duty of obedience to the mandates of the clergy. The hierarchical tendency prevailed with undiminished force; and the only difference was, that instead of the weak Louis, it was the more energetic Lothair who was in league with it. The hostility between him and his younger brother soon manifested itself more openly. Louis interceded for his father, but his requests were insultingly refused by Lothair; and the old emperor did not receive any better treatment than before. Then Louis, who may have

formed a secret alliance with his father, took up arms. In 834 he advanced by forced marches against Aix-la-Chapelle, while Pepin approached it from the south. Lothair, however, escaped to St. Denis, taking his father with him. But when the German army followed him thither, he freed his prisoner, and fled to Burgundy. Louis the Pious now remounted the throne; he was received back into the church on March 1, at St. Denis, and in the middle of that month held an imperial assembly at Quierzy. Louis the German and Pepin retained what they had recently acquired, and for the time nothing was said about providing for Charles. That question was afterwards brought up again by Judith, who had been freed from prison at Tortona by her husband's adherents, and soon returned to court. After vainly attempting at first to resist further, and then to escape, Lothair, too, was forced to submit; but his father foolishly left him in possession of Italy, and allowed him to march to that country unhindered, accompanied by the nobles who had shared in the revolt. Thus Lothair was left in readiness to seize the first favorable moment for a new rebellion.

Louis the Pious was indeed irreclaimable, and he had learned nothing from his bitter experience. He played into his enemies' hands even more than before. He was perhaps justified in seeking to wipe out by extraordinary acts of devotion the disgrace that had been inflicted on him at Soissons. But as though in this, too, he were only executing a bargain arranged with the church, he employed in its favor with especial energy the imperial authority that he had just recovered. He sternly admonished his sons, especially Louis and Lothair, to make good the inroads that they had made on the property of the church during the last few years, and to abstain henceforth from oppressing the Holy Church in any way. Their disregard of these injunctions soon threatened to lead to a new rupture; but an invasion of the Northmen in Friesland and a revolt of the Bretons prevented the emperor from making the expedition that he purposed against Lothair. The party of the latter was severely scourged at this time (836) by a plague that raged in Italy, and lost some of its most resolute leaders. This encouraged Louis, who at the end of 837, with the consent of Pepin and Louis the German, at an imperial assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, ordained a new division of the empire. By this division Charles received Belgium and the land between the Meuse and the Seine, as well as rich counties on the Marne, Seine, Aube, and Yonne, and parts of Lorraine. He received

full sovereignty over these districts, and so ceased to be a mere viceroy of his father. Pepin and Louis the German had allowed Lothair to be despoiled in this way, but the consequences were destined to speedily overtake them also. Louis the German was bitterly accused at his father's court by Archbishop Otgar of Mayence, and saw himself in danger of losing his possessions as his brother had done. He now entered into alliance with Lothair, and this was reckoned against him as a crowning offence. An attempt to become reconciled with his father at Nimwegen proved unsuccessful. Under the influence of priests and courtiers, Louis the Pious had become completely alienated from the son to whom he owed his preservation. The old emperor arbitrarily deprived Louis the German of all the land that he had held since 833 on both banks of the Rhine. To be sure, he had never received a formal grant of this; but his possession had not before been disputed, since the land was really only his reward for the services rendered to his father. The only course now left to Louis the German was armed resistance. But his enemies had intended that he should be driven to this very step, for his father at once became reconciled to Lothair; and in this way, after a series of the most motley vicissitudes, the same conditions were restored that had existed when Judith first endeavored with success to secure a kingdom in the future for her son.

The death of Pepin at the close of the year 833 removed another difficulty, and facilitated the division of the empire between Lothair and Charles only. In the summer of 839 Louis the Pious and Lothair met in Worms, after allaying their mutual suspicions by solemn oaths and by giving hostages. After a great deal of haggling, which betrayed Lothair's greed for land, the whole empire was divided into two nearly equal parts by a line that at first followed the Meuse, and then passed along the Saône and Rhone to the Lake of Geneva. Lothair, who of course could not give up Italy, chose the eastern part, and pledged himself to respect the other as the property of his half-brother. But their father was to remain ruler of the whole empire as long as he lived. This agreement at Worms, however, met with decided resistance from others besides Louis the German. In Aquitaine, which together with the West-Frankish territory proper, western Burgundy, Gascony, Septimania, and Provence, had been assigned to Charles, part of the nobles revolted in favor of Pepin's son, who bore the same name as his father. To be sure, Louis the Pious succeeded in reducing a part of the country to obedience

with the help of those nobles who had been won over to the new order of things ; but, as in 832, he was forced by diseases which broke out to content himself with a partial success, and bring his campaign to a premature end. His own strength was already failing. Meanwhile, Louis the German had appeared in the field, and had without difficulty taken possession of Alamannia and the lands on the right bank of the Rhine ; he had also obtained a firm hold in Saxony, and thus was in actual possession of that which had just been taken from him at Worms. Hence Louis the Pious hastened to the spot from Poitiers, where he was staying after the close of his Aquitanian campaign. He crossed the Rhine, and pressed on with such surprising celerity through Hesse and Thuringia that Louis the German had a narrow escape, and only reached Bavaria by a long circuit through the country of the Slavs and Bohemians. An imperial assembly was appointed to meet at Worms on July 1. This was intended to complete the despoliation of Louis, and to confirm the division of the empire between Charles and Lothair. But death interfered. The strength of the old emperor, which had long been broken, was utterly exhausted by the exertions of the forced march from Aquitaine to Saxony. He fell ill, and caused himself to be carried down the river Rhine to the island near Ingelheim, and there lodged in tents. In view of his approaching death, anxiety about the future of church and kingdom weighed heavily upon him. He ordered his treasures to be distributed among various religious foundations and to the poor. Lothair and Charles were also remembered. He ordered that the insignia of the imperial power should be delivered to Lothair, and earnestly besought Charles and Judith to adhere faithfully to the compact that had been made. But he still felt bitter resentment toward Louis the German, perhaps because he knew that he himself had wronged no one so deeply. The repeated admonitions and intercessions of his half-brother, Bishop Drogo of Metz, only prevailed upon the dying emperor to declare that he was willing to forgive his absent son : but at the same time he admonished those who stood around him never to forget what bitter grief that son had caused him. Louis the Pious died on June 20, 840, surrounded with the consolations of religion. His remains were buried in Metz, in the cloister of his ancestor, St. Arnulf, where his mother Hildegard and other relatives reposed.

The effects of the evil which his fickleness and weakness had brought upon the royal house and the empire lasted even after his

death; for the selfish efforts of which he had allowed himself to be made the tool still continued, as well as the opposing forces which had swept him to and fro. On the one side stood Lothair. He had been appointed protector of the young Charles; yet from the very first it was his object to maintain the unity of the empire, and all that it involved, against his brothers and nephew. Hence he wished to complete at once the despoilment of Louis the German. But the latter had already taken the field again, and had advanced as far as the Rhine. When he and Lothair met in battle-array near Worms, the latter granted him a truce. This period of truce Lothair wished to utilize for the subjugation of Charles and of the followers of the young Pepin in the west. For when he saw that the people in almost all cases willingly submitted to him, and that the clergy, for the sake of their own advantage, strove to influence his opponents in his favor, he no longer thought of fulfilling the promise that he had so recently given his father about Charles. But when he met the latter at Orleans, he avoided a conflict, and left the youth until the following summer the larger part of the territory that was in dispute, promising, at the same time, not to undertake any movement against Louis until that season. This was, of course, a great mistake; for the interests of the two younger brothers exactly coincided, and it was impossible for Lothair to separate them without making a full concession of rights to one of the two. This, however, his ambition and avarice prevented him from doing; and as he was not strong enough to conquer both at once, he deferred the decisive conflict, and so played into the hands of his adversaries. For while he was negotiating with Charles, Louis again subdued the German countries in his rear, and took up his position on the Rhine. Accordingly Lothair thought himself no longer bound by the promise that he had made to Charles about Louis, and sent an army against the Bavarian king. This force crossed the Rhine safely, and caused a general revolt in Louis's rear, so that the latter was forced to return in all haste to Bavaria. But, on the other hand, Charles used this violation of the agreement as a means of freeing himself from the compact made at Orleans. He renewed hostilities against Lothair; and as he was now hard pressed by the latter, he called Louis to his aid, and entered into an alliance with him.

The balance of war then turned against Lothair: for the two brothers marched against him simultaneously, and according to a common plan. In May of 841, Louis won a victory over Lothair's

partisans at Wernitz in Riesgau, and thus opened the way from Bavaria to Swabia, which they had blocked. He then marched westwards, and at Châlons-sur-Marne united with Charles. The emperor in his turn now formed an alliance with the revolted Aquitanians under young Pepin. Louis and Charles followed him, and overtook him near Auxerre on the Yonne. Lothair again opened negotiations, in order to escape farther southwards to the Loire before they had come to a conclusion. But the allies again overtook him; when he encamped at Fontenay, they were already at the neighboring town of Thury. Nevertheless, they assented once more when Lothair proposed to try to come to a peaceful understanding, and granted him another truce until June 25. Of course this attempt failed like the preceding. Lothair had only wished to gain time until his Aquitanian re-enforcements should arrive. At last, on June 25, 841, the battle was fought at Fontenay. It ended in a crushing defeat of the imperial troops (cf. Fig. 25). They were obliged to leave their camp with its rich booty in the hands of the victors. The hatred and bitterness that had been accumulating for twenty-four years vented itself in a frightful slaughter, the results of which horrified even the victors. The Frankish people had torn and rent itself in a fratricidal strife without parallel; in particular the Romance portions of it, which had remained faithful to Lothair, had suffered losses that would be felt for generations, and were condemned thereby to a pitiable state of weakness. The wrong course which Louis the Pious had taken under the influence of the clergy had given the Romance element a dangerous preponderance in the empire, and on the bloody field of Fontenay the superior strength of the German peoples, who fought for Louis and Charles, checked this dangerous tendency, which threatened the future of the Teutonic civilization. Thus the leadership in the development of the Carolingian empire was restored to the German element. The unity of the empire was henceforth out of the question, and Lothair's plans to execute what his father had tried in vain were utterly impracticable. It was not merely the strife of the descendants of Charlemagne that was decided at Fontenay; the gravest racial, religious, and political questions were also set upon the hazard. Even the people of that time were conscious of this, and saw in the result of the fratricidal conflict a judgment of God.

Lothair, however, did not consider himself absolutely conquered; and he shrank from no means of prolonging the contest. He did not

scruple to excite the Saxon peasants, who had fallen into servitude, against the nobles, who had attained wealth and power; he even allied himself with the Danes in order to divide Louis's strength.



FIG. 25. — Frankish Warriors. Ivory carving on a book cover of the ninth century. Paris, Louvre. (*Gaz. archéol.*) The motive is taken from 2 Sam. ii. 12 ff. In the upper field, Abner, before the walls of Gibeon, meeting Joab: below, the twelve young men of the tribe of Benjamin, in the garb and armor of Frankish warriors; at the bottom the pool of Gibeon, with a ship and waterfowl.

But his policy still lacked purpose and decision. From the Rhine, where he had been threatening Louis without venturing battle, he marched again toward the west in order to check Charles, who was advancing toward the Meuse. But Louis, in his turn, advanced from the Rhine; and Lothair was forced to escape to Aix-la-Chapelle, so that his antagonists were again able to unite their forces. In February, 842, Louis and Charles encamped at Strasburg; there they renewed their alliance in the presence of their troops by swearing to be faithful to each other, to treat one another like brothers, and to make no separate terms with Lothair. In order that the troops of each side might understand the proceedings, Louis pronounced the oath in the Romance tongue; Charles, in German. This was the first solemn expression of the separateness of the two peoples; henceforth there could be no question of a unity such as Louis the Pious and Lothair had striven to establish.

Louis and Charles now carried on the war with vigor. They marched down the Rhine to Coblenz, and everywhere Lothair's troops retired before them. The ranks of the imperial army were already becoming thin, although Lothair lavished his treasure in order to check the increasing desertion. As he found himself unable to hold his ground, he retreated to Lyons. And now the merited punishment for his crimes against his father overtook him. He himself now suffered from desertion, such as had given his father into his power. Charles and Louis summoned a synod, which was held in Aix-la-Chapelle. This body drew up a list of all the sins that Lothair had committed against his father and his brothers, and declared him deposed, appealing to the judgment of God as manifested at Fontenay. Charles and Louis prepared a new division of the whole of the empire north of the Alps, while, at the same time, they equipped themselves to continue the struggle. But Lothair finally opened the way for a peaceful understanding by proposing a new division of the entire empire. In this each of the three kings was to receive, in addition to his former possessions, a suitable group of countries. The advantage in this transaction was unquestionably on the side of the emperor. The acceptance of this principle really cancelled all that had happened since 817, and made the much-disputed ordinance of that year the basis for a new organization of the empire and the imperial house. The younger brothers proposed that they should follow the course that had been adopted in 833. Lothair, as at that time, was to combine Italy with the districts between the

Rhine and Saône, and the Rhine and Meuse, into a long, central kingdom. He, of course, raised greater claims at first, and was allowed to choose whichever of the three kingdoms that were to be marked off might please him best. These preliminary terms were sworn to at a conference of the three brothers, on an island in the Saône, near Mâcon, in the presence of their armies. The church now absolved Lothair from all the charges that had been made against him only a few months before, and expressly acknowledged him once more as a legitimate ruler. The reputation of the church must have suffered from the servility with which it adapted itself to all political changes, and strove to win the favor of the rulers by sanctioning the most contradictory measures.

But it took longer than had been expected to finish the division, both on account of the measurements of land, which had to be undertaken in some places through the plenipotentiaries of the three brothers, and because of the distrust which separated the kings from one another. This lack of confidence toward Lothair seems, to be sure, to have been not without reason. The negotiations which, according to the agreement, had been begun in Metz, were therefore transferred to Coblenz. Then the parties came together again in Diedenhofen, and there finally agreed upon a truce, to last until July 14, 843. They were influenced to this step by the condition of the empire (which was being attacked and plundered on the north by the Northmen, and on the south by the Arabs), and also by the obvious unwillingness of the nobles to continue the war. During the truce a formal inventory of the empire, and an exact valuation of the revenues from the counties, sees, abbeys, etc., were to be made, in order to render an equitable division possible. It seems, however, that these cumbersome preliminaries were not yet finished when the truce expired; but no one thought any longer of renewing the war. All persons alike needed and wished for peace; and even the church had become convinced that the unity of the empire, in the form in which the clergy had hitherto defended it, could not possibly be maintained. In August of 843 the three brothers met in Verdun, and seem to have come to an understanding without especial difficulty.

It was already determined that Lothair should retain Italy, Louis Bavaria, and Charles Aquitania, and that each should receive, in addition to his former possessions, such territory as naturally belonged with them from the nationality of its inhabitants. Absolute equality

in the extent and revenue of the three kingdoms could not be attained, and apparently was not explicitly sought after. Although the principle which they wished to follow was so clear, yet its execution was a task of the utmost complexity. It was hard to provide a suitable kingdom for Lothair; because if any other territory were added to Italy, it could only be done by drawing the boundary-lines in a somewhat arbitrary way. Moreover, Lothair's imperial office, and the right of precedence which was derived from it, added to the fact that he was the eldest son, made it absolutely necessary that certain districts should be assigned to him. Accordingly he received by the treaty of Verdun the following territory: first, Provence and High Burgundy (i.e., the country between the West Alps and the Rhone), and also a strip of land on the right bank of that river, running up as far as Lyons; further, the districts between the upper Rhone, the Doubs, and the Saône, which formed a connecting link with the German lands that were granted to him between the Rhine, Moselle, and Meuse. To this was added the riparian district between the Meuse and the Scheldt, and beyond the mouths of the Meuse and the Rhine the Friesian coast-country, with its islands. Thus Lothair held sway almost as far as the mouth of the Weser, and his realm extended from the Beneventine boundary in the south to the North Sea. It included Rome, Pavia, and Aix; i.e., the imperial city, the royal residence of the Lombard kings, and the principal abode of the Carolingians. For Romance subjects Lothair had the Italians and Provençals, for Romanized German subjects the Burgundians, and for pure Teutons the Franks who lived on the Rhine and the Friesians. All that lay to the west of this kingdom fell to Charles, in addition to Aquitania; thus he received Septimania, the Spanish March, Burgundy west of the Saône, the whole of Neustria, and west of the latter Brittany and Normandy, and north of it Flanders. Except the Basques and the Bretons, his subjects were all Romance people and Romanized Franks. In unity of territory and nationality his kingdom far surpassed that of his eldest brother. That of Louis possessed the same advantage; besides Bavaria, he received all Swabia as far as the Rhine, and Rhaetia, Thurgau, and Aargau on the upper part of that river; also the East-Frankish country, Saxony, and Thuringia, the strip of land between the middle Danube and the Bohemian forest, and, lastly, on the left of the Rhine the dioceses of Worms, Spire, and Mayence. Except the Romance inhabitants of the mountains on the upper Rhine, and the Slavs of Carinthia,

the population of the kingdom was entirely German. It bordered in Nordalbingia on the Danes, and farther on, along the lower course of the Elbe, and then along the Saale and the Bohemian forest, on the Slavs.

The division at Verdun had, therefore, been made pretty closely along national lines. But the deviations from this rule which were allowed show clearly that it had not been the result of a definite purpose. This division did not differ essentially from the numerous others that had previously been made in the Frankish monarchy; and those who planned it did not intend that its consequences should be different from those of its predecessors, or more wide-reaching than they had been. It was their wish that the realm should still remain theoretically one, and should be in the joint possession of three brothers; so that it seemed that a separate part had been assigned to each only for the purpose of administration. In consequence the three kings did not suppose that they had made a final and unchangeable arrangement. In the very fact that each of the brothers possessed a claim to the whole empire lay the possibility of a subsequent redivision. This possibility was increased by the avarice of one of the brothers, and the weakness and disorder of the other two kingdoms. The change in the position of the lay nobility was also an important factor. The commotions of the last few years had increased its power and influence. The aid of the secular nobles had enabled the three kings to gain power, and only by that aid could the latter hope to maintain their supremacy. In order to secure this assistance, the kings were obliged to be liberal, to distribute rich benefices, and grant immunities of many kinds. Naturally the position of those nobles who were courted by two, or even by all three of the kings, because they had estates in two, or in all three of the kingdoms, was especially favorable. It was for the interest of these lords that the treaty of Verdun was not regarded as having solved all difficulties, and that the possibility of a new division was taken into account. On the other hand, the church was forced, for the sake of its own advantage, to endeavor to have the new arrangement recognized as permanent, and to protect it against arbitrary changes. For every alteration threatened to split up the domains of the church, as the boundaries drawn at Verdun had already done. Besides, if new commotions should arise, the clergy had to expect new losses, such as they had already so often suffered from the inroads of predatory nobles on their estates.

The influence of these considerations was not, however, felt equally in all three kingdoms; and thus is explained the difference of the courses of internal as well as external development upon which the Carolingian states now entered. In Italy the growing power of the church was an obstacle to the establishment of a strong monarchy; and the opposition of the feudal nobles and the cities to one another soon brought about a division of territory. In the kingdom of Charles the Bald the 'beneficiary system' was so rapidly developed that it utterly overthrew the old Germanic political and social system, which was based on the freedom of the common people. Thus arose a new state of things, in which the lay nobles, who were graded according to their fiefs, obtained all the power, and left the king only the precedence in rank. But in the realm of Louis the German, although the 'beneficiary system' had gained foothold there, the Teutonic institutions were still retained; and such bitter hostilities as soon afterward broke out in the western monarchy were avoided. This is especially true of the relation between the temporal rulers and the church, which in the western kingdom soon became the greatest source of evil. In Louis's realm, on the other hand, the lay rulers and the clergy joined in successful efforts to promote both the economic and the intellectual civilization of the German peoples. These efforts were aided by the fact that at this time the German church did not gravitate toward Rome; but, although it revered in the pope its supreme shepherd, it remained independent in its own affairs, and governed itself on national principles through the synods of German bishops.

The peace among the three Carolingian brothers did not remain undisturbed, even after the congress of Verdun. Violent commotions broke out in the western kingdom. There Charles treacherously seized, condemned, and put to death Count Bernhard of Barcelona. This drove the son of the latter, William, to a revolt, by which also the followers of young Pepin in Aquitania were encouraged to another rising. Meanwhile the coast-districts suffered more and more from the invasions of the Northmen. Charles did not defend himself; and in consequence his reputation sank so much that the nobles of Aquitania sought for a more vigorous ruler, and secretly offered the crown to Louis the German. The latter actually accepted the offer, and sent his second son, Louis, into the country with an army; but he did not find there the support that he had expected, and was soon forced to give up the undertaking. More-

over, numerous disputes, which repeatedly threatened to lead to war, arose between Charles and Lothair; but these were reconciled by the mediation of Louis the German, so that outwardly, at least, the peaceful relations of the three brothers remained undisturbed. The blessings of real confidence and faithful adherence to one's agreements were, however, wanting in the Carolingian house. The troubles which Charlemagne had tried to avert from his sons, by the admonitions of the statute of inheritance of 806, came upon them through their own fault like an inevitable destiny. Twelve years after the treaty of Verdun, on September 29, 855, the Emperor Lothair (Fig. 26) died in the monastery of Pruem. He left Italy and the imperial office to his eldest son, Louis II. The northern half of his realm he divided so that the second son, Lothair, should receive the northern districts and Aix, — i.e., what was afterwards called Lotharingia, — while the southern territory, on the Rhone and Saône, was left to the third son, Charles.

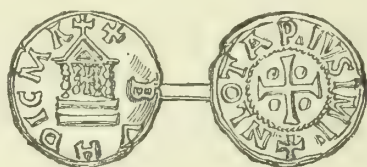


FIG. 26. — Coin of Lothair. Ob.: cross, with four globes: legend, † HLOTARIVS IMP. Rev.: church; legend, BVRDIGMA †. (From Cappe.)

The rapid degeneration of the Carolingian family was sadly evident in these three brothers. Lothair II. caused much offence by his *liaison* with Waldrada, whom he had loved in his youth. The Roman See, as the guardian of Christian morals, supported the rights of his misused wife, Teutberga, and thus obtained the wished-for opportunity of humiliating the guilty king and triumphing over the royal authority. Charles of Provence died in 863, and his kingdom was divided by Lothair II. (Fig. 27) and Emperor Louis II. The latter received Provence, and a part of Burgundy situated on the left bank of the Rhone. Confusion reigned also in the realm of Charles the Bald; and in 858 his nobles even turned again to Louis the German, in order to see the strong hand of the latter restore some degree of order. But Charles the Bald showed unexpected energy in his resistance. The new war between the brothers was soon discontinued, and in 859 a peace was concluded at Coblenz. At the same time Charles and Louis exerted themselves

to reconcile Lothair II. and the church. That body had expelled from its midst the disobedient king, who constantly lapsed into his old transgression. But before the reconciliation was completed, and before a decision was given by the synod which had been summoned for that purpose, Lothair II. died on August 8, 869, at Piacenza. He had himself hastened to Italy, and secured from the mild Adrian II. (867-872) the removal of the excommunication. Lothair's premature death was considered by his contemporaries as a punishment from Heaven for the wrong that he had done to Teutberga.

The moment had at length arrived when Louis the German and Charles the Bald could realize their plans for subjugating the central kingdom that separated their realms in such a disagreeable way. Their principal object in trying to restore their nephew to the favor of the church had been to see his son by Waldrada excluded from



FIG. 27.—Coins of Lothair II. 1. Obv.: Cross, with four globes: Legend: † HLOTHARIVS. REX — Rev.: church. Legend: VIRIDVNM CIVIS. 2. Obv.: Five globes and an intertwined band. Legend: LOTHRIVS RX. Rev.: a cross and four rings. Legend: † MATISENSIV. (From de Witt.)

the succession as illegitimate. They hoped to acquire for themselves in this way a claim to the inheritance. Of course their claims were decidedly inferior to those of their other nephew, Emperor Louis II. According to the course that had previously been adopted in similar cases, the kingdom of Lothair II. should have come to Louis II., so that the central realm would have been restored just as it had been established in 843 at Verdun. But Louis II. was engaged in a great war against the Arabs, whom he wished to deprive of Lower Italy, and was just then assaulting Bari, which was obstinately defended. Thus Charles the Bald was enabled, by taking advantage of a sickness of Louis the German, which occurred at that time, to seize the kingdom of Lothair II. by a rapid invasion. Charles then caused himself to be crowned king at Metz. The pope vainly warned him not to rob Louis II.; and Louis the German, though he had scarcely recovered, already appeared in the field to demand his share of his nephew's inheritance.

Charles, however, preferred to divide his booty, and so make himself sure of half of it, while by this means he united the interests of his powerful brother with his own. At a conference of the two brothers at Meerssen-on-the-Meuse, in 870, an agreement was made that completed and accentuated the division of the Carolingian empire.

By this treaty of Meerssen, Louis the German received from the kingdom of Lothair II. the archbishoprics of Cologne and Treves, and the sees of Utrecht, Strasburg, and Basel, with all the secular domains situated in or between these. Charles was given the archbishoprics of Besançon, Lyons, and Vienne, and the sees of Liège (Lüttich), Toul, Verdun, Cambrai, Viviers, and Uzès. The monasteries and counties were divided in like manner, — Charles receiving 33 of the former, and 30 of the latter; Louis, 43 of the former, and 31 of the latter. In this division the two kings were neither of them guided by any uniform political principle, but each was trying to overreach the other. The powerful and unscrupulous Louis obtained the larger and more valuable part of the territories. But the agreement of Meerssen obtained a higher significance from the fact that the dividing-line, which had been drawn through Lothair's kingdom, coincided for the most part with the lines that separated different races, as indicated by difference of language. For except in a few cantons on the left of the Meuse, where German was spoken, the Romance tongue prevailed in the districts that were added to the western kingdom; while the population of the territory that fell to Louis spoke German, except the people living on the upper Moselle and in Burgundy. Naturally the portions which were thus torn from their proper national environment strove to free themselves from this compulsory union with a foreign people, and to renew their connection with those of their own race. Hence this treaty could not be regarded as final; and, indeed, it soon received the proper correction. At all events, the idea of maintaining, even in theory, the unity of the empire was given up by the treaty of Meerssen. No reservation whatever was made in favor of the fiction that the empire remained one, and was ruled in common by the kings who governed parts of it. From the day of this treaty the Carolingian empire, as such, ceased to exist.

PLATE IX.





CHARLES THE BALD RECEIVING THE BIBLE FROM COUNT VIVIANUS.

FROM A MEDIEVAL CAROLINGIAN, MANUSCRIPT IN THE
NATIONAL LIBRARY, PARIS.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FALL OF THE CAROLINGIAN HOUSE, AND THE POLITICAL REORGANIZATION OF THE WEST THROUGH THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GERMAN-ROMAN EMPIRE.

(A.D. 870-887.)

THE sad heritage of family strife that Louis the Pious had left to his house was destined to be transmitted from his sons to the next generation, and to prove fatal to the kingdoms into which the Carolingian empire had been divided. Charles the Bald (PLATE IX.¹) and Louis the German had to atone for their sins against their weak father by bitter experience in the case of their own children. Thus the dynasty was hurried to its ruin, and the vast political and religious organization, in which it had included both Germanic and Romance peoples, was overthrown. As the dissolution of the Carolingian empire went on, and new states were formed, the balance of power in Europe was shifted. The alteration thus produced in the relation of the state to the church was especially momentous. It made Rome once more the centre of the development of the West, and of the entire Christian world, both intellectually and in other ways.

In the realm of Charlemagne the church had been one of the strongest incentives to political union. For the sake of its own position, and in the interest of its rich temporal possessions, it had vigorously defended the unity of the empire during the quarrels of

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

Charles the Bald receiving the Bible from Count Vivianus. From the manuscript of the Bible in the National Library at Paris.

This manuscript was prepared for Charles the Bald in the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, by direction of Count Vivianus, secular abbot of the same.

It is much the finest example of work of its kind in the Carolingian period, and the picture here figured is the best in the book. The artist has sought to give us not only a series of portraits of a high order, but also an impressive composition. The Abbot, attended by the members of the monastery, is about to hand to the king the precious volume, the work of many years, which is borne by three of the clerical brethren. The king, as the centre figure of the composition, is seated upon his throne, and leans forward to receive the gift, which appears to have been made in the year 850. At each side are two men, the one a court official, the other a soldier.

Louis the Pious and his sons. But now the situation changed. In order to obtain compensation for the loss of the unity of the empire, and to protect itself against the disadvantageous results of the treaties of Verdun and Meersen, the episcopacy found it necessary to emphasize more strongly the unity of the church. That unity had found its expression from the earliest times in the pope's priority in rank. Thus the clergy of the empire met half-way a tendency which had long existed in Rome, and which had manifested itself in the varying attitudes of the Holy See toward the imperial power. The weakness of the Carolingian kings, and the church's need of a protector, made it possible for the papacy to gain a position superior to both kings and church. This superiority was not merely honorary, but was based upon the exercise of supreme powers, at first in religious matters only, but afterwards also in secular affairs. In all this the Roman See shrewdly pretended not to be claiming anything new, but to be merely resuming its ancient powers, which at most had been temporarily forgotten, and employing them as in duty bound. Some decades earlier the Roman church had tried to deprive of all importance and validity the gifts of Pepin and Charlemagne, which were the only legal foundation upon which its temporal possessions and its authority within them rested, by circulating the story about a much older donation of Constantine the Great to Pope Silvester. It now tried in like manner to prove its right to hold authority over the diocesan unions in the Frankish empire by appealing to a collection of documents that had been deliberately forged. This forgery was not instigated by the church, but first obtained universal importance from the use that the church made of it, and became one of the foundations of the hierarchic system.

Bishop Isidore of Seville was one of the most celebrated scholars of the early part of the Middle Ages. He gathered all the knowledge of his day in a great encyclopaedic work (*Origines vel Etymologiae*) in twenty books, and thus rendered an important service to the education of his contemporaries, which was dependent upon very scanty aids. In 853 a collection of "decretals," i.e., papal missives and edicts, as well as decrees of councils, which was said to have been made by him, was brought forward for the first time. But in reality he had nothing whatever to do with it. His great reputation, and his acknowledged authority as a collector and systematizer, served only to conceal the recent work of a skilful forger, and to secure it a more ready and unquestioning acceptance. This

object was so completely attained that these "decretals of Pseudo-Isidore," or "forged decretals" as they are called, passed throughout the Middle Ages for an unimpeachable authority, and were used and respected as the principal evidence in support of the papal claims toward the episcopacy and the civil power. They were composed before 853, in which year they are first cited, and after 847, which is the latest year to which they contain historical references. Their compiler was a West-Frankish monk, who probably belonged to the archbishopric of Rheims. He made use of older collections, especially that of Benedict of Mayence, which was made about 843-845. The collection of Pseudo-Isidore contains a number of genuine papal letters, acts of councils, etc., with numerous forged documents of the same kind. Contrary to the actual course of historical development, the forger represents the constitution of the church as being originally strictly monarchical, so that by means of it all power was centralized in the hands of the Bishop of Rome. He wished to show by the documents which he forged that the condition of things which he, for some unknown reason, desired to see introduced had been the original one, and that the system which prevailed in his own time was illegal. Hence he claims for the pope an authority over archbishops and bishops similar to that which the latter exercised over the priests of their respective dioceses. At the same time he limited very appreciably the power of the bishops by acknowledging as legal the right of the priests to appeal from the decision of a metropolitan or diocesan to the papal chair. Thus the minor clergy were freed from their natural connection with their superiors, and were brought into direct connection with the pope. The churches of the different kingdoms and of their various provinces had up to this time chiefly governed themselves. Their business had been transacted by the provincial synods, which were managed by the metropolitan bishop of the province. The decretals of Pseudo-Isidore represented this independence as unwarranted, and made the holding of provincial synods depend upon a special license from the pope. It is not to be supposed that the monk of Rheims who so shamefully abused the name of the great Spanish bishop, was seeking to benefit Rome by committing the forgery. He probably did not aim directly to bring about those results which the principles that he advocated necessarily produced upon the whole organization of the church. No doubt there were special circumstances in the see of Rheims which caused such a violation

of custom to be wished for in the interest of one party. Thus the forgery had at first a special occasion and a special purpose, but these were afterwards lost sight of at Rome. There the doctrines which had once been brought forward to confirm the wished-for decision in a particular case were seized upon as essential and lasting, and the mass of the clergy were forced to accept them. The dissolution of the Carolingian empire and the weakness of Charlemagne's successors caused the need of a new power, which should unite and protect all, as the empire of Charlemagne had done, to be widely felt. The Arabs were making attacks in the south, the Moravians in the east, and the Northmen and Danes in the north. These circumstances induced the papacy, to which Pseudo-Isidore had just given an unprecedented supremacy over the church, to put itself in the place of the emperor, and to demand as its right the temporal as well as spiritual leadership of the Christians of the West. Who could dispute the possibility of such a government, when Pope Leo IV. (847-855) had already borne arms in person against the unbelievers, and beaten the Arabs in a sea-fight near Ostia? The wretched part which the Frankish kingdom played just at this time, and especially the humiliation which Lothair II. brought upon it by his adulterous conduct, also aided the ambitious designs of the church.

At the head of the latter stood Pope Nicholas I. (858-867), a man of such ability and energy as Rome had not seen since the time of Gregory the Great. He was full of confidence in the ultimate success of the cause which he represented, and was a master in the art of diplomacy. He found the Roman See in a very humble condition, and raised it by a series of hard-won but decisive successes to be the centre of the entire development of church and state for centuries. The decretals of Pseudo-Isidore, which had only very recently become known at Rome through the quarrels in the diocese of Rheims, were first used by Nicholas to support the claims which he raised against the metropolitan bishops.

In order to avoid a further subdivision of his kingdom, Charles the Bald intended one of his four sons, Carloman, for the clerical profession. Another of the sons, Lothair, was weak, and sank into the grave while still young. The other two, Charles and Louis, were to succeed their father. But Carloman was energetic and ambitious, and his mind was fixed upon temporal power. Although he had already received the lower degrees of consecration, and had been

assigned several rich benefices, he entered into a plot against his father and brothers. It was detected; and, by a synod which was convened at Attigny, Carloman was deposed from his religious offices and imprisoned. At the intercession of Pope Adrian II. (867-872) he was released. He then fled from the court, gathered a band of freebooters, and plundered the country, especially the diocese of Rheims. His comrades were excommunicated, but he himself was granted a season for repentance. Then the pope again prevented the bishops from launching the bolt of excommunication against the erring prince, as they wished to do, and threatened to exclude them from the fellowship of the church if they carried proceedings farther. He also admonished Charles the Bald in severe terms, telling the king



FIG. 28. — Tomb of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. (From Montfaucon.)

that Carloman's sins were a punishment of Heaven for the wrong that Charles himself had done to his nephew Louis II. at Meerssen. Moreover, the young bishop Hincmar, of Laon, had, on account of repeated transgressions, been deposed from his office by his metropolitan bishop, his own uncle, Hincmar of Rheims (Fig. 28), and the provincial synod. To this the king had given his assent. But young Hincmar appealed to Rome, and found there powerful intercessors, who wished to remove his case arbitrarily from the regular process of law. The ardor with which the champions of the new papal prerogatives entered the lists in favor of Carloman and Hincmar showed that their real object was to establish a precedent for the future by means of the decretals of Pseudo-Isidore. But those whose rights were thus threatened displayed such energy in their own defence

that the Holy See was forced to give way. It is a significant fact that in this movement the state and the national church, the king and the metropolitan bishops, again acted in harmony. The rights of both were equally at stake. As Charles the Bald stated in a missive to Adrian II., not to punish notorious breakers of the peace according to the decision of the royal courts, but to send them to Rome for condemnation, would be nothing but an acknowledgment that the Frankish kings were no longer the masters in their own country, but merely the pope's bailiffs. The 'new law,' on the basis of which Rome dared to make such monstrous demands, was branded as being, as it were, the spawn of hell. It was openly declared that the pope's conduct was inconsistent with the Scriptures, deviated from the teachings of his predecessors, and contradicted the recognized laws of the church. In his case the special rights bestowed upon the prince of the apostles could not be maintained, but must be regarded as forfeited by shameful abuse. Thus the West-Frankish monarchy actually called in question the legality of the primacy granted to the Bishop of Rome, and threatened to withdraw itself and its clergy from him. People let it be seen that they judged rightly about the origin of the decretals which Pope Adrian had cited, by speaking of them as a bungling fabrication. This made an impression at Rome; without retracting its declarations and demands, the Holy See let matters rest where they were. The time was yet to come when the kings and the clergy were less united and resolute, and were obliged to yield to the pretensions which this time they had repelled.

In the kingdom of Louis the German, also, open strife between father and sons repeatedly seemed impending. In this case, too, the trouble was occasioned by premature partitions of the inheritance among the sons. In 865, or earlier, Louis the German divided the administration of his realm among his three sons. The eldest, Carloman, was to receive the eastern districts and Bavaria. The second son, Louis, was to have the East-Frankish country properly so called, with Saxony and Thuringia. The third, Charles, was to receive Alamannia and Rhaetia. Louis, the second son, thought himself injured by this arrangement, and revolted. He was conquered by his father, but received pardon. A new division of the kingdom was then made. This time Carloman and Charles thought that they were slighted in favor of their brother. They soon headed a conspiracy. Their father was to be suddenly attacked, and forced to abdicate. The

project was to be carried out during an imperial assembly, which was held in January of 873 at Frankfort. But at the decisive moment Charles lost courage. Tortured by anxiety and shame, he became

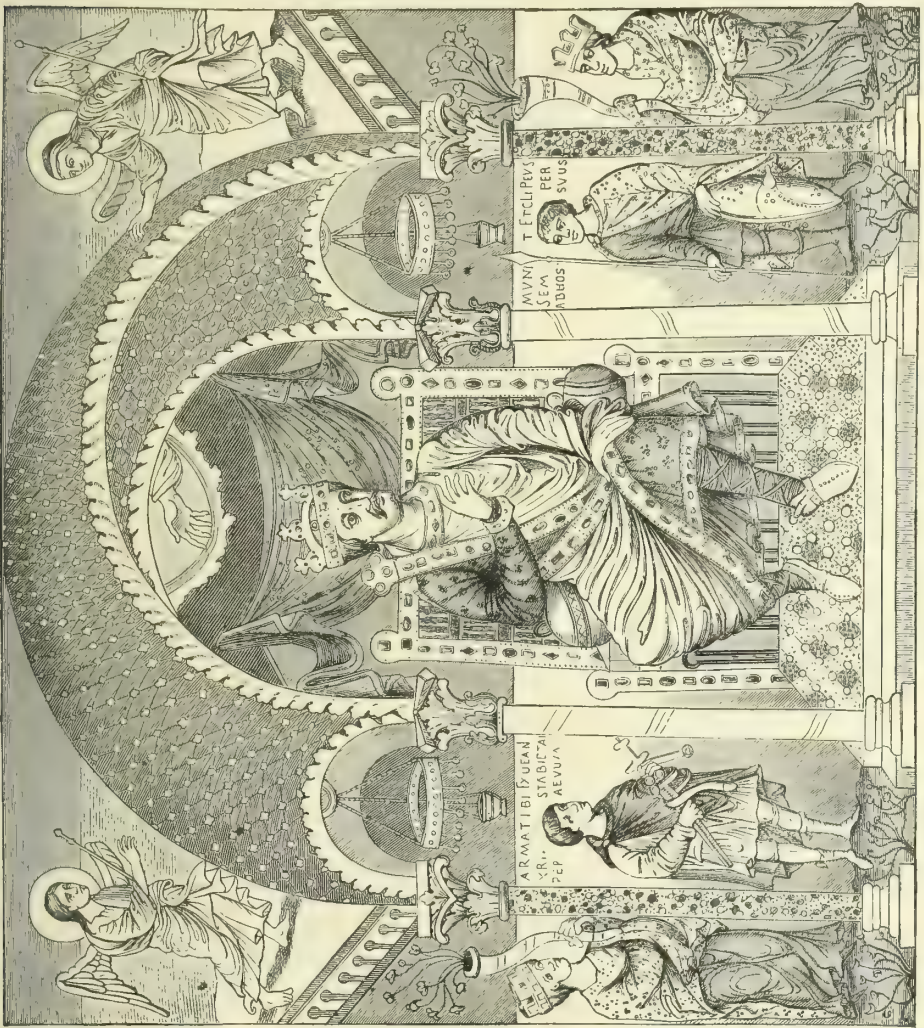


FIG. 29. — Charles the Bald. Dedicatory picture in the *Codex Aureus* of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon. The manuscript was prepared by order of the king in 870; it was written in golden letters, and illustrated by the priests Berengar and Luithard. (Munich.)

distracted; and this led to the discovery of his plans. Then he and Carloman sought and obtained pardon from their father. Nay, Louis even granted his sons greater independence in the government of

their respective provinces. There they found important military work to be done, especially in conducting the war with the great Moravian prince Svatopluk, who was finally compelled to pay tribute.

The illness of the childless Louis II. promised to create a speedy vacancy in the imperial office. Since, in the Carolingian family, the elder brother had always held the office of emperor, Louis the German seems to have claimed for himself a special right to it. But the Roman See by no means wished to see such a powerful ruler placed over itself. It therefore decided to come to terms with the



FIG. 30. — Seal of Charles the Bald. Obverse and reverse. From an impression in National Archives, Paris. (From de Witt.)

feeble Charles the Bald (Figs. 29–31), and to make use of him against his brother. These more urgent cares made it relinquish for the present the enforcement of the theories of Pseudo-Isidore. Adrian II. had already changed his tone toward Charles. John VIII. (872–882) yielded entirely, and left the unruly Carloman to his fate. The latter was overpowered by his father's followers, and was expelled by a synod from the ecclesiastical order. He was sentenced to death

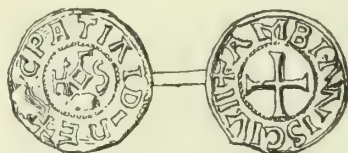


FIG. 31. Coin of Charles the Bald. Obv.: Monogram for KAROLVS. Legend: GRATIAI D REX. Rev.: Cross. Legend: † AMBIANIS CIVIL. (From de Witt.)

by a secular court. His father commuted the sentence to blinding and life-long imprisonment. But the blind man finally succeeded in escaping from Corbie, to which place he had been brought, and under the guidance of some trusty friends fled to his uncle, Louis the German (Fig. 32).

Meanwhile Emperor Louis II. died in August of 875. He had

named his uncle, Louis the German, to succeed him as ruler of Italy and emperor. This was in accordance with the usage of the Carolingian family, which had never contemplated a division of Italy. But Charles the Bald, who probably had a secret understanding with John VIII., was already on his way toward the south. He arrived in Rome in December, and there received the imperial crown from the pope, not by virtue of his own right to it, but as a gift mercifully vouchsafed him by St. Peter. In return, he was to prove his gratitude by constant readiness to serve the church rather than by costly offerings. Charles accordingly allowed the archbishop of Sens to be appointed as a papal legate for Gaul and Germany, and thereby helped to bring the Frankish church into submission to the power of Rome. But the retribution for such faithlessness had already overtaken him; for Louis the German had invaded his kingdom, and made himself master of the larger part of it. It is a significant fact that the West-Frankish bishops, at the advice of Hincmar of Rheims,

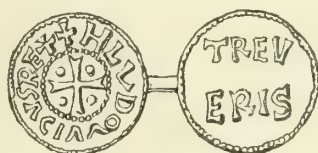


FIG. 32.—Coin of Louis the German. Obv.: Cross with four globes. Legend: † HLVDOVVICVS REX. Rev.: TREVERIS. (From de Witt.)

refrained from interposing in favor of their lawful sovereign, and seemed quite ready to recognize the decision of arms, and to submit to the East-Frankish Carolingians. The weakness of Charles, who had been ready for the sake of the imperial crown to forsake the position that he and the West-Frankish clergy had taken in the quarrel about Carloman, showed clearly that the West-Frankish church would have to pay the cost of this sudden change in his policy. With this view accorded the passionate violence with which John VIII. assailed Louis the German as a second Cain, and threatened the bishops with the severest censures of the church as traitors and disturbers of peace. Louis proposed to divide the inheritance of Emperor Louis II. as that of Lothair II. had once been divided; but the pope, in concert with Charles, absolutely refused the offer. Another war between brothers seemed impending, which would necessarily become also a great religious and political struggle: for the defenders of the independence of the national churches gathered around Louis, while the innovators, who advocated the doctrines of Pseudo-Isidore, sided with Charles.

It may almost be doubted whether the prevention of the conflict by the death of Louis, which took place on August 28, 876, should be styled a blessing. At all events, the peoples which had been united under Louis's sceptre honestly mourned for him. To be sure,

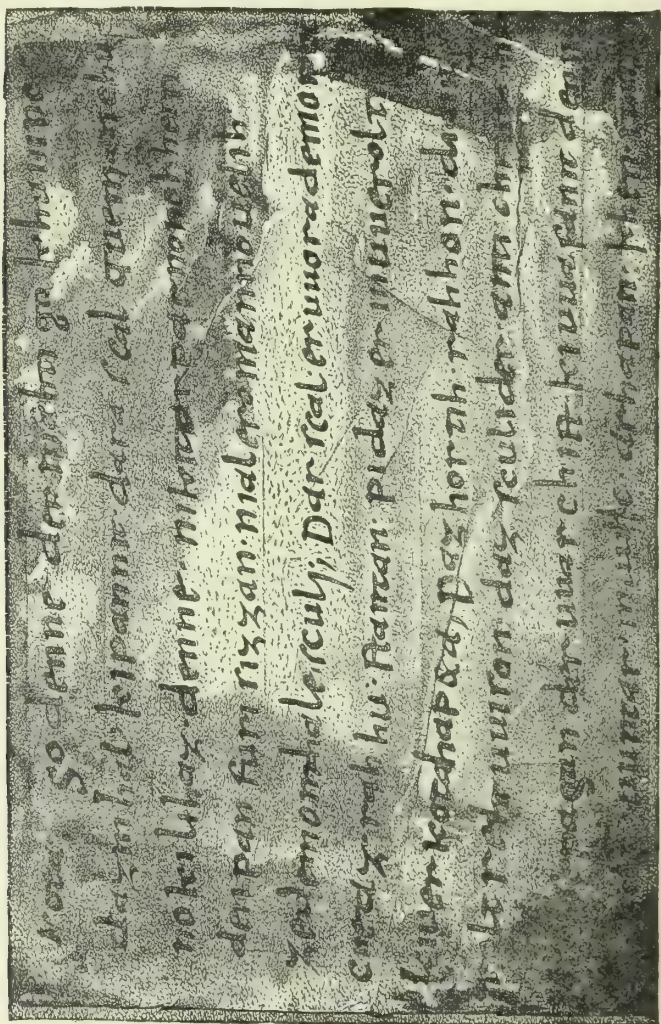


FIG. 33. — Facsimile of a part of the poem Muspilli, written in the prayer-book of the wife of Louis the German, probably by the hand of Louis himself. Munich. Slightly reduced.

this prince was by no means free from the errors of his time and the evil qualities which his family displayed during its rapid decay: but they existed in him in a milder form, and were free from the revolting features which so often disgust us in the case of his kinsmen. He was free from the hollow piety and sickly Romanism of his

father ; and in his unpretending directness, his sturdily frankness, and his strength which impelled him to activity, he was a fortunate personification of the German race in the rude and unpolished condition in which it then was. This explains also his popularity among his people. The Germans had been in danger of losing the most valuable of their national possessions through the un-German character of Louis the Pious ; while his son loved and cherished those possessions, and as a true Teuton was in sympathy with his nation. Louis the German heartily appreciated the scanty works of German poetry, — the Gospel-harmony of Otfried, the monk of Weissenburg, and the poetical remains of ancient German heathenism, as exemplified in the *Muspilli* (verses on the great conflagration of the world), of which a copy is extant that was perhaps made by Louis himself (Fig. 33). This shows that he was conscious that he was a Teuton, and esteemed this fact as the national and moral basis of his rule, though we ought not to infer that a correspondingly pronounced opposition to the Romance element already existed. But the German peoples that had been united under him felt a closer and more intimate connection, and were keenly conscious of their common interests as opposed to the Romance portions of the Carolingian empire. A proof of this is found in the manner in which, after Louis's death, they faced the renewed attacks that were made upon their independence. The harmony that existed between Louis's sons during the following years also points in the same direction.

As a matter of course, the greedy Charles the Bald (Fig. 34) planned to enrich himself at the cost of his nephews. Immediately after his brother's death he took the field ; but he found Louis, the second son of the dead king, on the left bank of the Rhine in readiness to repel the invasion, and was defeated by him near Andernach on October 8, 876.

In order to protect themselves against future attacks on the part of their uncle, the sons of Louis the German met in November at a conference in Riess, and concluded a close alliance. This treaty confirmed the division of their father's possessions that had previously been in force, and provided that they should take measures in concert to maintain the claims of the elder line to the imperial crown and Italy. In case they were victorious, they were then to divide Lorraine, as well as Italy, equally among themselves ; the imperial office was probably intended for the eldest, Carloman. But the impending war was once more averted by the death of one of the hos-

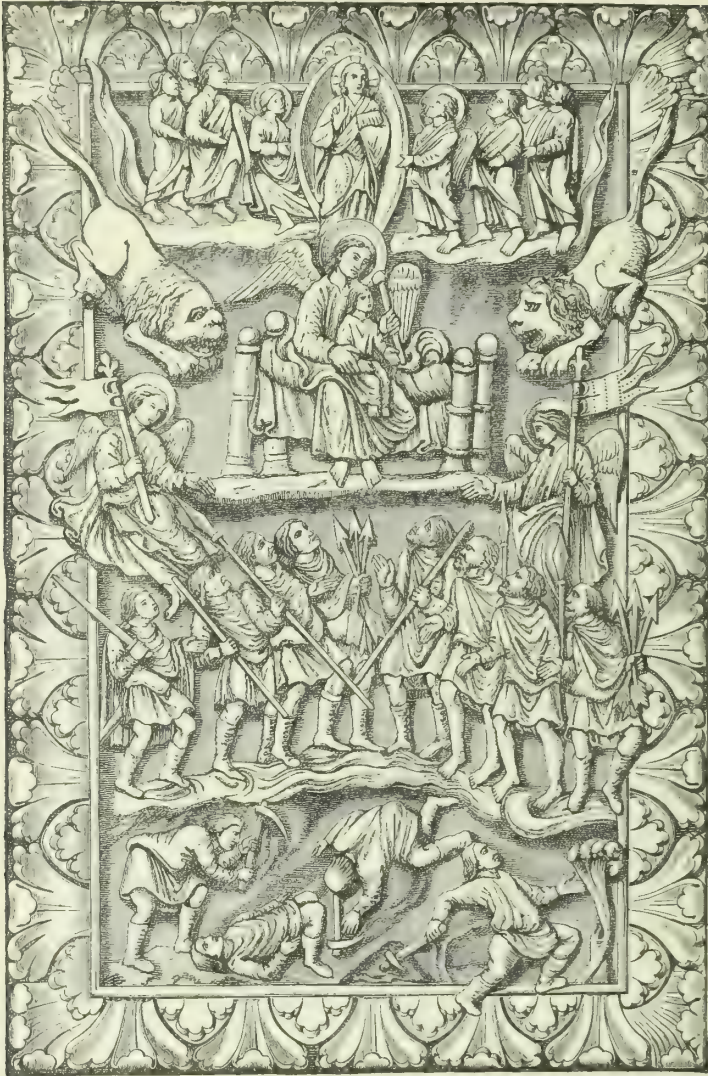


FIG. 34. — Ivory carving on the cover of a prayer-book of Charles the Bald. Paris, National Library. The composition is suggested by Psalm lvii., and falls into four parts. In the upper part, God is represented surrounded by heavenly beings. At his feet, there is a bed on which an angel sits with a child on his lap, symbolizing the soul of man, which rests in the shadow of the wings of God. The angel is viewed as the divinely sent deliverer, and the winged spirits at each side are personifications of Mercy and Truth. The soul of man, though protected by the divine wings and by his angel's arms, is threatened by evil ones, here represented by the lions, and by the hostile bands which approach, armed with swords, staves, lances, and arrows, but stand back in awe, destined to fall into the pit digged by themselves for their enemy. (*Revue archéol.*, 1849.)

tile parties. The urgent cries for aid against the Arabs that came to the ears of Charles the Bald across the Alps, at last determined him to march toward the south, whither Carloman, too, was already on the way. Charles's dilatory policy and unwarlike weakness, which contrasted so unfavorably with the warlike zeal of Emperor Louis II., had long since disappointed all. Even Pope John VIII. regretted that he had laid the duties of emperor on such feeble shoulders. However, he now hastened to Pavia to meet Charles, in order to help him keep Carloman in check in the north, while operations were being carried on in the south. But the emperor finally did not venture upon a battle, and retreated over the Alps. On the journey he died at a village in the valley of Arc, on October 6, 877, a year after his defeat at Andernach. He was a man who owed to mere chance a series of undeserved successes, which, however, he had never known how to grasp and turn to account. From early youth he had been

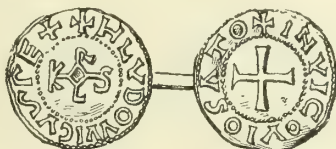


FIG. 35. — Coin of Louis the Stammerer. Obv.: Monogram for KAROLVS. Legend: HLVDOVVICVS REX. Rev.: Cross. Legend: † IN VICO VIOSATO. (From de Witt.)

the source of quarrels for his family, and of military disasters for the countries that were under its sway. He was a weakling, destitute of princely qualities, and the vastness of his pretensions stood in abrupt contrast with his inability to accomplish anything whatever.

Charles the Bald had believed himself destined to restore the empire of his grandfather. His claims were transmitted to his only son, Louis the Stammerer (Fig. 35). But so utter was the disorganization of the West-Frankish kingdom, and so unreliable were its nobles, that there was small prospect that Louis would be able to maintain his power. At this juncture the Roman church took up his cause, certainly not without selfish motives. Its object was to acquire both political and religious influence at the same time in the West-Frankish monarchy. Carloman now appeared south of the Alps without opposition. He was recognized as king in Lombardy, and won over to his party the most powerful nobles. He even went so far as to claim the imperial crown. But John VIII., while detaining him by pretended negotiations, himself proceeded to the land of the West

Franks, and on December 7, 877, crowned Louis the Stammerer at Compiègne. Meanwhile a change of affairs took place in Italy also, Carloman being compelled to return to the north by a plague that broke out in his army. But most of the Lombard nobles remained faithful to him; and the pope's attempt to set up a rival king in the person of the Burgundian Count Boso, the brother of the Empress Richildis (the widow of Charles the Bald), failed utterly. On the other hand, a singular chain of events gave to the German Carolingians the sovereignty over Italy, and the office of emperor, from both of which John VIII. had wished in the interest of the church to exclude them. Carloman was prevented by severe illness from carrying farther the execution of his plans, and Louis the Stammerer died prematurely in 879. A faction of the West-Frankish nobles now offered the crown to Louis, son of Louis the German, the ruler of the Rhenish Franks, Saxony, and Thuringia. But he declined it, as he wished to leave his hands free to possess himself in concert with Charles, the third brother, of Carloman's domains after the latter's death, which was impending. To this end, it was especially important to exclude the claims that Arnulf of Carinthia, Carloman's illegitimate son, raised to his father's possessions. When Arnulf punished nobles who had already entered into alliance with his two uncles, Louis marched against him, and forced him to content himself with Carinthia. It was then arranged that Italy and the imperial office should subsequently be given to the youngest brother, Charles the Fat, while Louis should take possession of Bavaria, which had long been considered the most important part of the German portion of the empire.

Thus it seemed, at that time, that the dismemberment of the empire had at last been checked, and an inclination to harmony appeared to prevail among the German Carolingians. But not only had the main divisions of the empire become so estranged in the course of a generation, that the ancient union between them could no longer be maintained without damage to the several parts; even within the smaller kingdoms into which the realm had been divided, separations had begun, and oppositions had arisen, that led to the formation of new states. To the efforts made by Arnulf of Carinthia in the eastern kingdom corresponded those of Count Boso, the brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, in the west. Hugo, the illegitimate son of Lothair II. by Waldrada, also made similar efforts for a time. Louis the Stammerer, as we have said, died in 879, even before

his sickly cousin, Carloman. The former left three sons. The eldest, Louis III.¹ (Fig. 36), succeeded him; but by Boso's efforts the second son, Carloman, who had married Boso's daughter, was appointed to an equal share in the royal power. Vexatious disputes between the two kings soon led to a formal division of the kingdom. Under these circumstances, it became easy for Boso to obtain a following among the lay and spiritual nobles, to acquire gradually the power in Provence, and to sever with impunity the feeble tie that bound him to the state of the West Franks. In this, too, the church had a share. Boso, of course, did not hesitate to pay the price that John VIII. asked for aiding him, and consented that the church of his dominions should be directly subject to the Bishop of Rome. John appointed the archbishop of Arles as a legate who should constantly watch the papal rights in Boso's realm. In October of 879, in the

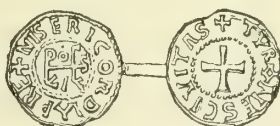


FIG. 36. — Coin of Louis III. Obv.: Monogram for LVDOVICVS. Legend: MISERICORDIA DI REX. Rev.: Cross. † TVRONES CIVITAS.

royal palace at Mantaille, Boso was chosen king of Burgundy, chiefly through the aid of the clergy. Thereupon he was crowned at Lyons. His example induced Hugo, the son of Lothair II. and Waldrada, to make a similar attempt in Lorraine, of which his father had intended that he should be king. It may be that the church, which had once pronounced Hugo illegitimate, now aided him to reach the goal of his ambition. The establishment of a second monarchy between the German and West-Frankish kingdoms would tend still further to diminish their importance, and to increase proportionally the power of the church. A remarkable change had taken place. The church had once been the zealous champion of the unity of the empire, hoping to make the entire Carolingian realm subject to herself at one stroke. After this attempt failed, she now thought her interests were best served by promoting the dissolution of the empire to the utmost of her ability. From the smaller states which thus arose, she exacted that, in return for her recognition of them, they should con-

¹ King Louis III. of the West-Frankish kingdom, the later France; not to be confused with Emperor Louis III. (see below) of the German-Roman or Holy Roman empire. Louis the Stammerer is reckoned as Louis II. of the West-Frankish kingdom. — ED.

cede to her the power which according to the forged decretals was her due. Here we find for the first time that alliance of the papacy

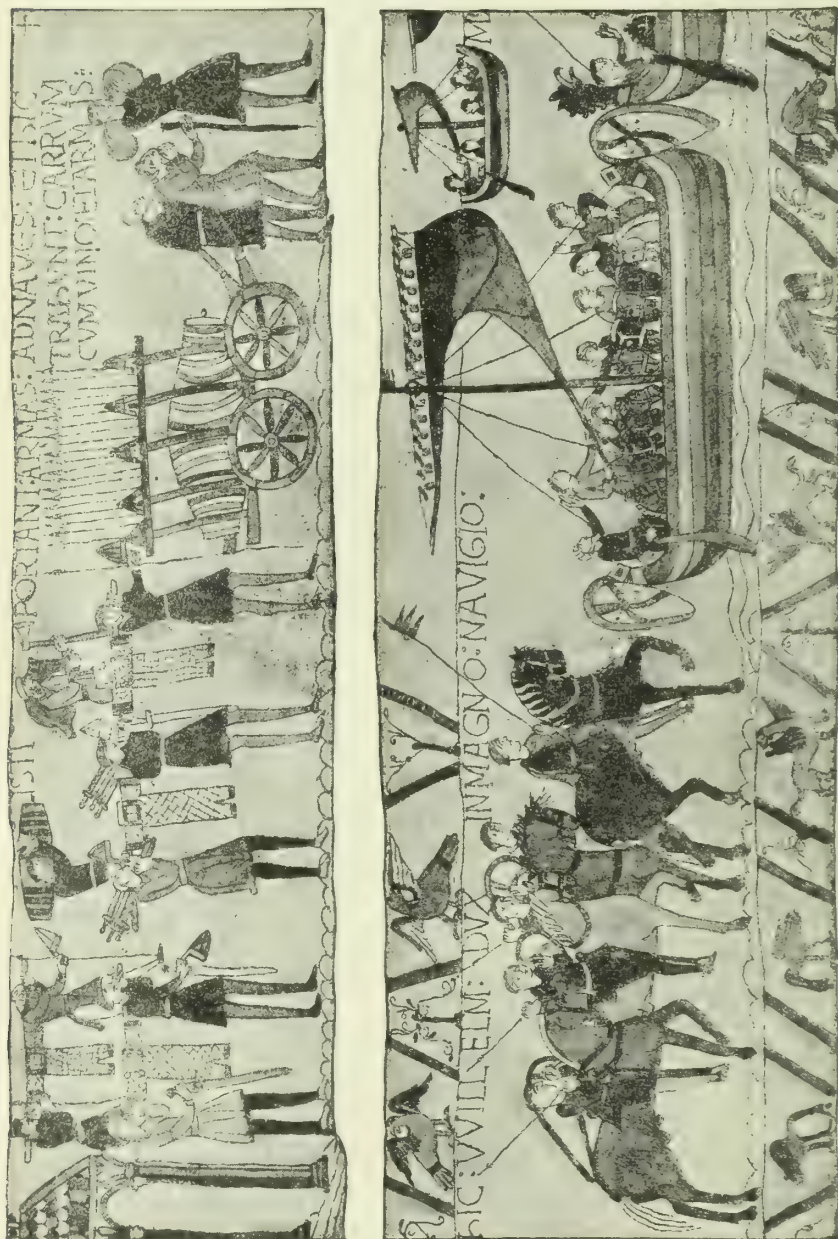


FIG. 37. Scenes from the Bayeux Tapestry. See p. 156, Note.

with the feudal nobles hostile to the king, which was frequently renewed in later times, and after two hundred years was to decide the destiny of Germany.

The common danger convinced the Carolingian kings of the necessity of uniting for defence. In February of 880, the German Louis met the kings, Louis III. and Carloman, at Remiremont, on the Oise, for the purpose of concluding a peace. In June all three were to meet Charles the Fat at Gondreville. The German Louis was prevented from appearing there by sickness, but nevertheless a formal family compact between the Carolingians was made. In accordance with this, the kings acting in concert first made Hugo, the son of Waldrada, incapable of doing harm, and restored order in Lorraine. They then marched against Boso, and besieged his capital, Vienne. But there the league which had scarce been made was broken. Louis

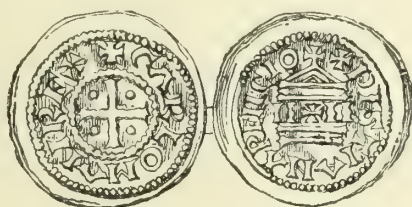


FIG. 38. — Coin of Carloman. Obv.: Cross with four globes. Legend: † CARLOMAN REX. Rev.: Church. Legend: † XPISTIANA RELIGO. (From Cappe.)

III. was forced to hurry back to protect his realm against a fresh invasion of the Northmen. Charles the Fat gave up the undertaking, and retired after burning his camp. This surprising change of policy was due to the inducements offered to Charles on the part of Pope John VIII., which led the king to sacrifice the welfare of his whole family and realm to a personal advantage which could be attained only for the moment.

On September 22, 880, while the war against Boso was going on, Carloman (Fig. 38), the eldest of the German Carolingians, succumbed to a long illness. His claim to the emperorship passed to his brother Louis. The latter, as he was bound by the compact of Gondreville in an offensive and defensive alliance with his kinsmen, was in a position to tighten the reins of power once more in Italy, and also to alter the relation of the church to the imperial office. But this was not the wish of the Roman See, which by a counter-stroke, as skilful as it was treacherous, shattered the alliance of Gondreville. It passed over Louis, and offered the imperial crown to

Charles the Fat, the youngest son of Louis the German, and the one who least resembled that able monarch. By this step the Holy See made the successes that it had already gained more secure, and also relieved the hard pressed Boso. At this time Rome stood in need of a protector. The Arab raids scourged the coasts of Italy more and more severely; the Eternal City itself was more than once threatened by these dreaded foreigners, and had once helplessly succumbed to a sudden attack from them. But in this very matter John VIII. was doomed to a bitter disappointment. For when Charles the Fat arrived in Rome, in February, 887, after a hasty journey from Provence, he at once refused to comply with the conditions on which the pope wished to crown him emperor. These probably amounted to this, that Charles should confirm and increase the concessions that Charles the Bald and Boso had made as to the subordination of the churches of their kingdoms to the Holy See. However, matters had doubtless gone so far that the pope could not recede; for good or ill he was obliged to fulfil his promise. But the new emperor set out immediately on the return journey, without having done anything to protect Rome and Italy against the Arabs, while the imperial officers appointed by him caused loud complaints by their encroachments upon the rights and estates of the church.

The church and Italy, which Charles was under the strongest obligation to help, thus derived no benefit from his appointment to the imperial office. He proved unable to perform the tasks which were set him. His power north of the Alps was destined to fall in an equally lamentable fashion, though it had there received for a time a surprising but illusory increase. The Northmen (Fig. 37¹) swarmed over the coast-districts every year; but on August 3, 881, at Saucourt, between Abbeville and Eu, as their troops were withdrawing laden with booty, Louis III., king of the West Franks, inflicted upon them a defeat. This victory raised the courage of the disheartened people, and brought the young king military glory

¹ EXPLANATION OF FIG. 37.

Normans. Reduced facsimile of scenes from the Bayeux Tapestry. Embroidery on linen of the eleventh century. In the Cathedral at Bayeux.

In the upper band Normans making preparation to embark upon a naval enterprise. Helmets, cuirasses, swords, battle-axes, lances, wine-bags, and other objects are carried to the ship by men and on a cart. On the lower band William, Duke of Normandy, and his knights are represented as arriving at the place of embarkation, as also ships with horses and men on board. (From F. R. Fowke. *The Bayeux Tapestry*.)

such as had long been lacking to his house. It freed the land for a time from the savage invaders, who for the next few years directed their attacks principally against the eastern kingdom, which was less vigorously defended. There also, in their increasing distress, people looked to the emperor for aid; for Charles's elder brother, Louis, died at the beginning of the year 882, after mourning the previous demise of his only son. The Rhenish Franks, Saxons, and Thuringians now offered the sovereignty to the last genuine scion of the German Carolingians, and he willingly received their homage. Thus two-thirds of the Carolingian empire were united under Charles the Fat. But in this case also nothing of what was hoped for was accomplished. The German peoples, under Charles's leadership, undertook a great expedition down the Rhine against the Norsemen; but



FIG. 39. — Coins of Charles the Fat. 1. Obv.: monogram of Charles. Legend: †DIRIGA RE†. Rev.: cross with four globes. Legend: †DORVCCTA (Dorusta) MO (Moneta). 2. Obv.: cross with four globes. Legend: †KVROLVS REX. Rev.: S (Sancta) COLONIA A. (From Cappe.)

it terminated miserably, and the brave Germans felt the disgrace most keenly. Not far from Liège, on the river Meuse, near Aschloh, they came upon the camp of the enemy, who were under the sea-kings Siegfried and Gotfried. They had besieged it for two weeks, when the emperor suddenly came to an agreement with the hostile leaders. One of the latter was allowed to depart with his men and plunder, after swearing not to appear in Germany again during Charles's lifetime. The other accepted Christianity, and did the emperor reverence, and in return was allowed to settle in the district of Kennemare. The only result of this miserable policy, which foolishly abandoned a certain victory, was that the land of the East Franks had a short respite from the invasions of the Norsemen, while the West-Frankish territory was assailed with double severity. The West Franks, too, from an unlucky series of events, were finally compelled to intrust themselves to the emperor, who had shown himself so little worthy of such an honor. Thus Charles (Fig. 39), without in the least deserving it, united once more the whole realm

of Charlemagne under his sceptre. This came about in the following way.

Louis III., the victor of Saucourt, died on August 5, 882. At his death the dominion over the northern half of the West-Frankish kingdom passed to Carloman, Louis the Stammerer's second son, who was already king of the southern part. The condition of the realm became worse and worse. Attempts to subdue Boso of Burgundy proved unsuccessful; and the Norsemen, who were forced to abandon the German coasts for a time, established themselves in Amiens, and carried their frightful devastations far into Champagne. Even the country between the Seine and the Loire partially fell into their power. In the autumn of 884 the only way of escape left was to purchase a cessation of their invasions by large sums of money, the payment of which threatened to ruin the inhabitants of the provinces that still remained. Soon afterwards the young king Carloman was killed while hunting. The heir to the throne was his step-brother, Charles, afterwards surnamed the Simple, who was the son of Louis III. by a second marriage. But Charles was not yet of age, and how could a child be admitted to the throne in such a crisis? Where else could they seek for rescue than from Emperor Charles, the last scion of the Carolingians? In May of 885, at Ponthion, the West-Frankish nobles acknowledged Charles the Fat as their king. Soon afterwards Boso died, and Provence, under his son Louis, submitted to the emperor. Thus the entire realm of Charlemagne was once more united, though all parties were convinced by sad experience that to maintain such union was impossible and even injurious. Even the Roman See openly turned away from it, and by allying itself with the emperor's enemy, Guido of Spoleto, secured a nearer and more efficient protector. However, Adrian III. (884-885) showed himself not unwilling, in return for equivalent concessions, to assist in legitimizing Bernhard, the illegitimate son of Charles the Fat, whom that emperor intended to make his successor. But more urgent cares soon drove these projects into the background.

The West-Frankish kingdom was assailed by the Norsemen more severely than ever before, and was about to succumb. The dreaded sea-king, Siegfried, appeared again with a fleet of 700 ships and 40,000 men. After he had captured the stronghold of Pontoise, he advanced up the Seine in order to carry fire and sword farther than ever before into the interior. But at Paris, which commanded the

river, being situated on an island, and connected with both banks by fortified bridges, he was not granted a passage through, although he demanded it. He then resolved to capture the place by siege. But it was well defended by the citizens, under Count Odo (Eudes) and Bishop Gauzlin; though sickness and famine gradually diminished the numbers of the defenders, and put them to a fearful test. In the summer of 886 the fall of the city seemed inevitable. Then Count Odo in person escaped from the place, in order to secure speedy and vigorous help from the emperor. But a German force with which Odo returned was cut to pieces by the Norsemen. At length, in the autumn of 886, Charles the Fat himself set out to the rescue with an imposing army, levied from both the East and West Franks. When he encamped at Montmartre, the Norsemen retired to the south bank of the Seine, awaiting a re-enforcement that had already entered the mouth of the river. The emperor pusillanimously refrained from an attack, and commenced negotiations. The result of these inflicted an indelible stain upon him, and revealed that he was ready to do anything, however base, to gratify his own selfishness. He had once been guilty of similar conduct at Aschloh; but there appearances had barely been preserved, and the empire had at least gained a temporary relief. This time Burgundy was given up to the Norsemen for the winter as their place of residence; i.e., they received full power to plunder there as much as they pleased (cf. Figs. 40, 41). Charles thus made use of them to punish the country for having previously revolted against him. All this was not enough: in the spring of 887, 700 pounds of silver were to be delivered to the Norsemen, as the price of their final departure.

For once the imbecile emperor had overrated the patience of his subjects. They felt that he who could not protect had in effect ceased to rule. Driven on by a passion of scorn and disgust, as well as by the instinct of self-preservation, they sought, first the east, then the west, for leaders who could meet the crisis.

In the east the feeling of national unity had been much more strongly developed, as there the difference between the various peoples was much smaller. Above all, in the eastern kingdom the feudal system had not fully overthrown the old political and social system of the Germans: and the nation's power of defence had, therefore, been preserved. Consequently the Teutonic idea of the origin and character, the rights and duties, of the royal office still survived among the East Franks: and hence they felt more deeply than the

people of the west the disgrace that Charles the Fat had brought upon himself, and longed more violently for its removal. The German peoples still entertained the idea that the authority of a king could be forfeited through complete incapacity or evident unworthi-



FIG. 40. — Episode in the storming of city by Normans. Miniature from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the ninth century. (From Strutt.)

ness, and that the people then had the right to elect a more competent ruler, without confining itself to the family that had previously held the throne. This was the principle upon which the Carolingians had once been called to power in place of the Merovingians: and in

accordance with the same principle, the Carolingian family was now deprived of the authority which it was no longer competent to exercise. This was an act of self-preservation, by which the people tried to avert the evil brought upon them by their kings.

The precise manner in which this was carried out is unknown to us. Apparently Charles the Fat was not formally deposed by an assembly of nobles convened for that purpose. Nor do we learn that any formal election was held. It would rather seem that at soon as



FIG. 41. — Episode in the siege of a city by Normans. Miniature from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the ninth century. (From Strutt.)

Charles's deposition was seen to be necessary, no doubt whatever was felt as to what should next be done. Apparently the only person who was thought competent to supply the empire's need was Arnulf of Carinthia, and he was therefore the only one who came under consideration as a candidate for the vacant throne. In the eastern marches he had proved a valiant defender of the boundaries, and had for some years reigned in actual independence. Arnulf was welcomed by all when, in the summer of 887, he entered the

empire at the head of an army. His appearance on the scene was all that was needed to consummate Charles's deposition and his own elevation to the throne. Charles's illegitimate son, Bernhard, whom the deposed monarch would so gladly have seen upon the throne, fared no better. It was not even considered necessary to seize the person of the dethroned emperor. Who could fear anything from such a weakling? He was allowed to retire undisturbed to Swabia, where Arnulf (Fig. 42) assigned him several of the royal estates for his support. He died there, in Neidingen on the Danube, January 13, 888, and was buried in the monastery of Reichenau, on an island in the Lake of Constance.

Meanwhile Arnulf had appeared in the heart of the empire. No resistance was offered to him on any hand. The revolution was accomplished without excesses and violence. The Thuringians,



FIG. 42. — Seal of Arnulf of Carinthia. From an impression in the British Museum.

Saxons, Franks, Bavarians, and Swabians thronged to Frankfort, and in November of 887 did homage to Arnulf as their common sovereign. Only the people of Lorraine — a country that had from the beginning assumed a peculiar position between the two Frankish kingdoms, and had not yet attained complete sympathy with either of them — were not represented, and seemed desirous of waiting to see which side it would be most profitable for them to take. But the most important and momentous feature of the whole

revolution was the fact that the peoples of pure German stock were united in it. By relinquishing all thought of a further separation they entered into a firmer and more deliberate union than had previously existed between them. At the same time they separated themselves more abruptly than before from the western kingdom. The German people, by deposing Charles and raising Arnulf to the throne, accomplished what none of the previous divisions had effected, not even those of Verdun and Meersen, — a resolution of the Carolingian empire into parts whose reunion was out of the question from the very first. With the fall of the Carolingian house sank also the empire which it had created.

After the German peoples separated from the rest of the empire, the remaining portions, in almost every case, relapsed into a state of internal disorder and external distress, — a fact that shows that the

Carolingian empire was essentially German, although large Romance countries belonged to it. This relapse was especially seen in the West-Frankish kingdom, the people of which, like their eastern brethren, regarded the throne as vacant after the deposition of Charles; and, following the example that had been set in the east, made Count Odo, the valiant defender of Paris, their king. But though Odo's great wealth made him the most powerful noble of Francia, he was not strong enough to secure the full recognition of his authority. He was constantly obliged to struggle against the opposition of the nobles, who were striving to make themselves independent. Moreover, the people were continually reminded that the source of his authority might be called in question; for a genuine Carolingian and legitimate heir to the throne still existed in the person of Louis the Stammerer's youngest son, Charles. Burgundy regained under its king, Conrad, the independence which it had temporarily given up. In High Burgundy hard by, the Guelf Count

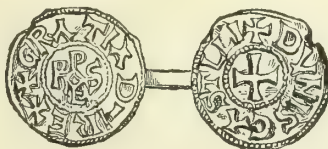


FIG. 43.— Silver coin of Rudolf of Burgundy. Obv.: Monogram of RADVLFS. Legend: † GRATIA D-I REX. Rev.: Cross. Legend: DVNIS CASTELLI.

Rudolf (Fig. 43) rose to be an independent sovereign, and caused himself to be crowned king (888). In the east, Lorraine was lost. In the extreme west, the Bretons raised Alan, one of their warlike chiefs, to the throne. Aquitania followed this example. Thus six small states had taken the place of the West-Frankish empire, and the latter ceased to have any further influence on the course of the world's development.

Italy, too, was now broken up in like fashion. The dominion of the Carolingians in that country had in reality ceased with the death of Louis II. In this case, also, people resorted to the old German practice of electing a king, which was sanctioned by the institutes of the Lombards. The nobles of Upper Italy assembled at Pavia, and chose, as successor of Charles the Fat, the powerful and warlike Margrave Berengarius of Friuli. Against him rose Guido, Margrave of Spoleto and Count of Camerino, a daring man, who had risen to power amid the commotions that were rending Lower Italy by at

one time opposing, and at another allying himself with the church, the Greeks, the dukes of Benevento, and the Saracens. He had even tried to seize the West-Frankish crown, and actually succeeded in getting possession of the western part of Upper Italy. Soon afterward (891) he forced the defenceless Pope Stephen V. (885–891) to grant him the imperial crown, which was now for a long time in unworthy hands. The slight influence which the Frankish monarchy had previously exercised on the duchy of Benevento and the possessions of the Greeks in the south now ceased; the destiny of these districts was henceforth decided at Byzantium or in the califate.

Even at this period the Germanic tribes which had struck out toward the extreme northwest, i.e., the Anglo-Saxons, and the people of Scandinavia, still formed a kind of world of their own. The Saxons were steadily developing their peculiar political system, resting upon a thoroughly national basis. This system, outside of the religious sphere, was affected scarcely at all by the influence of the Romance civilization. The Scandinavians were a restless, adventurous people of warlike seamen, who, issuing from their northern home, not only devastated both Germanic and Romance countries in a fearful manner, but also, by means of a wonderful power of adaptation, became successful founders of states, even amid the most alien surroundings.



FIG. 44.—Gold ring of Aethelwulf. (Arch. Journal.)

The strong tendency to unite, which was felt among the Germanic peoples in the period of the eighth and ninth centuries, reached also the Anglo-Saxons, who were politically divided into seven parts, and led to the transformation of the Heptarchy into a single Anglo-Saxon kingdom by Egbert of Wessex. This change took place about the same time when the decay of the Carolingian empire commenced, and England began to be scourged by the invasions of the Vikings. Egbert himself had repelled the first attack of these savage foes. His son and successor, Aethelwulf (836–858), had to struggle against them; but although he defeated them at Ockley, in Surrey, he could not prevent strong detachments of them from wintering in the country. After Aethelwulf (Fig. 44) had prematurely lost his eldest son, Athelstan, he divided the kingdom among the three oldest of his four

remaining sons. To be sure, this step did not endanger the lately established unity of the Anglo-Saxon people, as among them there were not those incentives to division that were felt in the Frankish empire; but it assisted the attacks of the Danes, who divided the forces of the defenders by making simultaneous raids on different districts. Hence, even after the unity of the kingdom was restored, the exhausted Anglo-Saxons were no longer a match for their enemies. One of Æthelwulf's sons, Æthelbald, died as early as 860, and another, Æthelberht, in 866; so that Æthelred ruled over the whole realm, although in some parts of it the heirs of the former sovereigns remained as viceroys, according to the old usage. In the reign of this king the first great Danish invasion smote England with all the severity of a deadly national calamity. In 867 the wild hordes landed in greater numbers than ever before in East Anglia, and conquered a large part of Northumbria, including the venerable city of York; and in 868 they invaded Mercia, and wrested from the king a peace which was to their advantage. In spite of the desperate resistance of the people, they kept advancing, and wreaked their barbarous fury especially on churches and monasteries. At last a Danish prince ruled as king in East Anglia. The tidings of such successes brought the invaders constant re-enforcements from their northern home. In 871 they were already able to attack the principal country of the Anglo-Saxons, Wessex. But Æthelred, with the aid of his youngest brother, Alfred (Fig. 45), whom, when still a child, Æthelwulf had sent to Rome to be crowned by Leo IV., succeeded in checking them in a bloody battle at Reading on the Thames. But they soon renewed the attack; and at last Æthelred, while fighting against them with the courage of despair, received a fatal wound, to which he succumbed not long afterward. Only the youngest of Æthelwulf's sons, Alfred, still survived. He had been his father's favorite, and had been early intended by him to fill the place which he now took after the severe disasters which had befallen the country and the royal house. In the midst of this fearful crisis he was welcomed by his people as their longed-for saviour.

The thirty years of Alfred the Great's reign (871-901) became for the Anglo-Saxons a period of national elevation and regeneration. The centre of this movement was the king himself, one of the noblest rulers of the Middle Ages, whose character attracts us with an irresistible charm. In him the energy of the old German heroes was

joined to the wisdom of a gifted statesman, He possessed an ingenuous love for the treasures of poetry and tradition, which his people had preserved from the days of heathenism, and united with this a keen appreciation for the masterpieces of classical antiquity. Outwardly he was a picture of manly beauty and strength, and was unsurpassed in all feats of bodily skill. Moreover, although subject to temporary illness, he possessed unusual mental powers, and an education such as in those days even princes seldom possessed. He was now twenty-two years of age. Apparently his stay in Rome had made

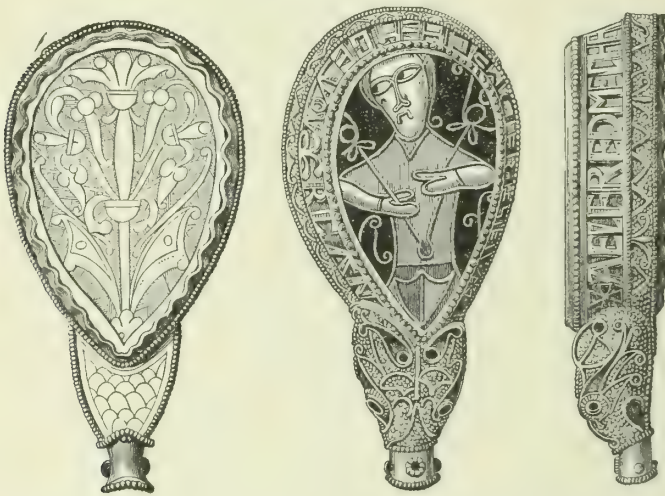


FIG. 45.—Ornament once belonging to Alfred the Great. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.) Found in 1693 at Athelney. Perhaps the knob at the end of Alfred's sceptre. An oval crystal, about two inches long, on which is represented the upper part of a human body, in inlaid work of gold and green mosaic. The back is made of an ornamented gold plate. The crystal is mounted in a handsome gold frame, on which are the letters : *Aelfred mec heht gewyrcan* ('Alfred had me wrought.')

a deep impression upon him, and had intensified and refined his sensibility to the intellectual interests which he there encountered. In this respect Alfred reminds us of Charlemagne, except that he surpassed the great Frank in culture, and therefore also in intelligence, and in the permanence of his influence upon the people.

Alfred's services of this kind should be esteemed all the more highly because he maintained and displayed an interest for intellectual things in the midst of a tremendous crisis and an apparently hopeless conflict in behalf of kingdom and people. For in the north of England the foreign invaders seemed already victorious. Mercia,

Northumbria, and East Anglia were mercilessly scourged with taxes and tribute by their viceroys. The Danes were already settling in the country in large numbers. They gained a firm footing even in Scotland and the neighboring islands. The state of things on the southern coast was equally bad. There the strangers settled in the harbor towns which were favorably situated, and it seemed that the Anglo-Saxons were destined to suffer the same fate which they themselves had once brought upon the Romanized Britons. Alfred might well be glad to protect Kent and Wessex for the next few years by a truce of considerable length. But when the contest was renewed, the Anglo-Saxons, in spite of all their heroism and of occasional successes, were at last worsted. Already many of them lost faith in the future of their people, and emigrated to seek a new home in foreign lands. Alfred, too, when the first decade of his toilsome reign was ended, had scarcely any other way of escape left to him. A king without a country, he concealed himself during the winter amid the inaccessible forests and bogs of Somerset. There he met with adventures and dangers of every kind, often enduring actual hunger, and expecting every moment to receive a sudden attack from superior numbers of the enemy. But nevertheless he did not give up hope of a change for the better, and was unwearied in his efforts to bring it about. This is the time of Alfred's life which poetry and tradition afterwards chose in order to glorify him in the grateful recollection of his countrymen. Like a true national hero as he was, Alfred gathered in that time of flight and concealment a part of the Anglo-Saxons capable of bearing arms, and with these men, who preferred death to slavery, inflicted a defeat upon the Danes near Eddington. As the result of this the Danish leader, Guthrum, was baptized, and pledged himself to dwell peaceably in East Anglia. In the neighboring regions also many of the Danish hordes concluded similar compacts, which aided the spread of Christianity among them. The regulation of the administration of justice and the intercourse between the two peoples paved the way for mutual toleration, and then for a certain degree of association and fellowship between Danes and Saxons. Being temporarily relieved from the necessity of warring in the interior, Alfred could now concentrate his whole strength upon the defence of the land against the fresh swarms of Danes who assailed it by sea. He at once prepared the coast-districts to receive the invaders, and increased the nation's power of defence by developing a navy.

But all this had obviated only a part of the mischievous effects which the Danish scourge had been producing for half a century upon the Anglo-Saxon country and people. The more difficult, but more meritorious, portion of Alfred's task still remained to be accomplished. It was in this field that his talents as a ruler were most brilliantly displayed. He restored the ancient division of the country into counties, etc., which the foreign conquerors had in many cases done away with. He also re-established the Anglo-Saxon governmental and judiciary system, the overthrow of which had seriously injured even those parts of the country that had not been conquered by the Danes. He showed equal zeal in ameliorating the condition of his people. Agriculture, trade, and commerce thrived anew. The cities that had been destroyed by the Danes rose from their ashes, and became scenes of cheerful industry. The misery under which the Anglo-Saxons had so recently thought themselves about to be crushed was soon forgotten. But with the national prosperity increased also the national appreciation of intellectual pursuits, which Alfred especially loved to encourage. It was in those very fields in which the Anglo-Saxons had once been the teachers and educators of the other Teutons, that the baneful influence of the Danes was most severely felt. The monasteries, which had once been the nurseries of learning, but had been destroyed by the invaders, were now rebuilt. They were filled with learned monks, some of whom had been invited from foreign lands; and these trained up a new and well-educated generation of ecclesiastics. It is especially characteristic of Alfred's work in this direction that he not only opened the treasures of foreign culture to the monks, whose profession led them to occupy themselves with learning, but also strove to interest the laity in scholarly studies, and thus to elevate their minds. To this end he caused translations of Latin authors to be made, and even composed such versions himself. The famous history of the 'venerable' Bede (died 735) became in Alfred's translation the common freehold of his nation; and the king not only translated the universal history of Orosius and the treatise of Boethius on the "Consolations of Philosophy," but expanded them with additions of his own. But he did not, in the meantime, forget to collect the Anglo-Saxon songs and traditions, which he knew how to value as a precious possession of his people. These were especially adapted to revive and strengthen the national feeling in times of invasion.

Another war was yet in store for Alfred. The Danes, repelled from the Frankish coast by the more warlike successors of Charles the Fat, assailed the southern shires of England, in order to conquer for themselves dwelling-places in the fertile coast-districts. Of course this soon led to a new outbreak in the north as well. A bitter contest now broke out, which scourged England, and especially the southern districts, for three whole years. But its result showed how successfully Alfred had labored to restore the strength of the Anglo-Saxon nation. In 896 the invaders were forced to vacate the country, which then enjoyed an unbroken peace until the death of the great king in 901, although it was still found necessary to be always ready to repel a new invasion.

Important changes were also taking place at this time among the Scandinavians, who, through the raids of the Northmen and Danes, had become the terror of central Europe. It was mainly these changes which caused these bands of unruly warriors to leave their native land in such numbers. Up to this time the Scandinavians had been divided into numerous peoples, subject to hereditary kings (who were the heads of the different districts) and to the warlike nobility (the jarls). The supreme power, however, rested in the whole body of free citizens. But in the course of the ninth century a centralizing tendency made itself felt even in Scandinavia, and led to an increase of the royal authority, which hitherto had been very limited. In Norway, in the second half of the ninth century, Harold Harfagr (i.e., 'the Fair-haired') subdued the petty kings and the haughty nobles who were in league with them. In Denmark, about the same time, Gorm the Old attained a similar position. More slowly, and amid many vicissitudes, the same tendency toward union under a single ruler made its way in Sweden. This course of things made many of the former petty kings and jarls disgusted with their country, in which they had, up to this time, enjoyed unlimited freedom. Moreover, many thousands of the great body of free peasants, the very core of the nation, did not wish to remain under the new *régime* with its numerous exactions, and gladly followed the call of the adventurous leaders who promised them battle and booty and new homes in sunnier and more fertile lands. Thus new and very powerful motives united to drive the northern Teutons to the conquest of foreign countries.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, THE ROMAN AND GREEK CHURCHES AND THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD IN THE AGE OF THE CAROLINGIANS.

THE acknowledgment of the Carolingian power as the legitimate successor of the Roman empire of the West was greatly facilitated by the pitiable weakness into which the Byzantine Empire was fallen at the time. The strength of this venerable representative of old Rome had been exhausted less by the incessant wars which harassed its frontiers than by the envenomed and bloody controversy between the image-breakers (Iconoclasts) and the image-worshippers (Iconoduli), which united in itself the worst features of both religious and political conflict, and wasted the vitals of the state for over a century. The Greeks, in consequence of this struggle, were unable to do anything of importance for the defence of Italy, and, after some resistance, were obliged to acknowledge the imperial dignity as the lawful possession of the king of the Franks. A further consequence was the momentous change that took place in the attitude of the bishop of Rome toward Byzantium. This change caused a power which aimed at the universal sovereignty of the church to spring up beside and above the imperial power that had been restored by Charlemagne.

No one will deny that the worship of images, especially in the form which it had taken in the oriental church, gave much offence by its sensual tendency and the heathen reminiscences which clung to it. It certainly degraded Christianity in the eyes of the Mohammedans and Jews, and even in the interests of Christianity itself a reform was desirable. To this end the emperor Leo III. the Isaurian employed a bureaucratic system of regulation, and where this did not succeed, resorted to military compulsion. This, however, was not the right way to attain his purpose. He began in 726 by restricting image-worship, and then in 728 ordered the figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints to be removed from the churches and destroyed. The people, who had been before very passionately excited over far more difficult

and unintelligible questions of doctrine, were again divided into two parties. These factions contended bitterly with each other, and made the capital and the empire for many a year the scene of the most violent quarrels. They regularly vied with each other in displaying the evil qualities peculiar to the degraded Romaic populace. Emperor Leo III., indeed, in the sight of every unprejudiced judge had the right on his side and deserved praise for the high degree of moral courage with which he called attention to a palpable error of the Christian worship. But by far the larger part of his subjects belonged to the party of the Iconoduli, who deemed it a sacred duty to resist to the uttermost, with every means that promised success, the image-breakers who gathered about the emperor. Leo tried to deprive the opposite party of its head by deposing the aged patriarch Germanus, and endeavored by substituting the pliant Anastasius to employ the authority of the church against image-worship. Thereupon, several attempts to revolt were made, but were quickly suppressed.

But the courage of the image-worshippers rose and the emperor's situation became more critical when Pope Gregory II. (715-731) took decided ground in favor of images, and branded Leo's conduct, in forbidding their worship, as utterly reprehensible. Gregory summoned all believers to the defence of the holy images, which were threatened with destruction by the impious Isaurian. Ravenna and the Pentapolis thereupon renounced their allegiance to Byzantium. In 733 Leo sent a fleet to Italy to re-establish his authority; but, partly by the valiant resistance of the inhabitants and partly by storms which assailed it, it was forced to return without having accomplished its object. This seemed to the image-worshippers like a judgment of Heaven in favor of their cause, and a Roman synod excommunicated all the opponents of images. But no formal separation from the Byzantine empire occurred at this time, although it would appear that some were already striving to bring one about. Pope Gregory III. (731-741), like his predecessor persisted in his opposition to the emperor's edicts against images; and, on the other hand, Leo continued to persecute unmercifully the clergy who favored image-worship. Of course the pious zealots saw in all the other misfortunes that came upon the empire — i.e., a dreadful earthquake that visited the country on both sides of the Bosphorus and the Propontis, as well as the devastating raids with which the Mohammedans scourged the eastern provinces — only a punishment of Heaven for the impious breaking of images.

The state of things became still worse under the successor of

Leo III., his son, Constantine V. (741–775), to whom the hatred of the image-worshippers has attached the surname Copronymus (i. e., ‘Dung-named’). If we could trust the accounts that emanate from that party, Constantine V. must have been the very offscouring of humanity. No charge was too vulgar or base for them to bring against him, in order to make the head of the Iconoclasts an object of universal abhorrence. In their savage fanaticism these zealots thought that they could suppress all that Constantine accomplished in a reign of more than thirty years, particularly in the defence of the empire, which was attacked on every hand. His life was endangered in his own house by base treachery; he was dethroned for a time by means of conspiracy and riots, and was forced to regain his power by hard fighting. If, after all this, he showed himself violent and cruel and strove to maintain his authority by pitiless severity, at least he was not the only one responsible. If his life was stained with many vices, he was the child of a savage age and belonged to a demoralized people. At all events, the much-abused Constantine V. possessed a strength, especially in military matters, such as the effeminate Byzantines had not seen for many a year in their emperors. He successfully defended the eastern frontier against the Arabs, and repelled the fearful onsets of the Bulgarians. These were achievements which only the blind hate of religious fanatics could seek to deprive of merit, and which caused the valiant soldier to be long and gratefully remembered, especially by his comrades in arms. Again, it was not Constantine V. who renewed the religious strife. On the contrary, the image-worshippers took advantage of his absence on a campaign against the Arabs to stir up a revolution at court. This movement made Constantine’s brother-in-law, Artavasdes, emperor, and gave the party that favored images the power in church and state. Constantine returned at the head of his brave countrymen, the Isaurians, and gained a victory over the rival emperor near Sardis. But he was forced to reconquer the capital itself by a long siege, as it was resolutely defended by the image-worshippers. If the guilty were then severely punished, this was not due to their religious attitude, but to the revolt that they had raised in the hope of dethroning the emperor. But it was also natural that from this time Constantine V. saw in the veneration of images not merely a doctrinal error, but also a political crime which must be extirpated to make the throne secure. Thus a political element was introduced into the quarrel about images, so that it unchained religious and political passions in an equal degree and undermined church and state to their very centre.

For this state of things the fickleness of the Byzantine bishops is chiefly responsible. The great majority of them were at heart in favor of image-worship, but from fear, or in many cases for the sake of personal advantage, yielded to the opposite view, which was held by the head of the state. By changing their ground, and passing decrees which actually annulled each other, they increased the confusion beyond recovery ; while at the same time their conduct seriously injured their standing in the eyes of the great body of the Iconoduli and made those in authority believe that the episcopacy was to be used as a pliant instrument for all purposes whatsoever. On the other hand, image-worship found its most steadfast and devoted defenders among the common monks. The latter were therefore persecuted with especial severity, but by their martyrdom gained in the sight of the people both in holiness and influence.

The literary champion of the Iconoduli was the Damascene, Johannes Chrysorroas, who belonged to a family of Syrian Greeks which had supplied to the Califs a series of important officials. He himself held a position of honor and trust as high treasurer at the court of Bagdad, until he retired to the monastery of St. Saba at Jerusalem in order to devote himself to theological studies. It was he, in the main, who formulated for the Greek Church its doctrinal and ethical teachings in their final shape ; while with his "Speeches in Defence of Images" he became the most eloquent and impassioned champion of image-worship, and exercised a mighty influence in its favor.

A dreadful plague, which had been introduced from Sicily in 746, devastated a large part of the empire. Its ravages in the populous capital were particularly great. Then a laborious war had to be waged against the Bulgarians, who advanced from the north, driving before them the Slavs. The latter settled in the Greek districts that had been depopulated by the pestilence. The border war against the Arabs in the east, who had to be resisted by sea as well as land, still continued. These matters at first occupied Constantine V. so completely that it was not until ten years after the revolt of the image-worshippers was suppressed that he could follow in his father's footsteps by taking measures against the Iconoduli. In 754 Constantine assembled in Constantinople a council, which was attended by more than three hundred bishops, and held its sessions on the Asiatic coast, in the Hieraeum Palace. This body condemned the worship of images as an invention of the devil ; because, on the one hand, it involved the Monophysite heresy, since the Saviour could be portrayed only in his

human form, and, on the other hand, attempted the impossible by trying to represent the saints by means of images and pictures, for the condition of the saints in heaven could not be comprehended by the human mind. Moreover, it was recommended that all the images that were still in existence should be removed and destroyed, and the manufacture of these objects was strictly forbidden under heavy penalties. This ordinance increased the excitement of the monks, who often made a business of manufacturing religious statues and pictures, and saw themselves pecuniarily damaged by a decree which cut off this rich source of revenue. Incited by them, the common people, who supposed that the existence of Christianity itself was bound up with the images, frequently took up arms in their defence. This provoked the emperor to more violent measures, which were principally directed against the monasteries and their occupants. Troops were quartered in the religious houses, which were plundered, robbed, and devastated in every way; the monks were driven out, insulted, abused, and in many cases imprisoned, mutilated, or even put to death. The lamentations and murmurs of the people at the sight of the bloody executions were counted as a crime by the emperor, and punished as such. Yet the image-worshippers did not yield; nay, the dreadful martyrdom that they saw inflicted on the most prominent of their number increased their confidence, caused their zeal to burn still more fiercely, and filled ever larger numbers with religious courage and enthusiasm. The bishop of Rome, more steadfast than the servile patriarchs of Constantinople, clung to the worship of images without being deterred by threats, and was unwearied in encouraging the faithful to endure to the end, by comforting and praising them.



FIG. 46.—Constantine VI. as youth and his mother Irene. Gold coin. Legend: CONSTANTINOS C' (καί) EIR. Rev.: Legend: CONST AVSTI ET EIPI. In the field, ancestors of Constantine: Leo III., Constantine V., and Leo IV. Size of original. (Berlin.)

With the death of Constantine V. (775) the violence of the struggle began to decrease. His son and successor, Leo IV. (775–780), did not alter his father's edicts against image-worship, nor the decrees of the councils that had confirmed those edicts; but he

checked the persecution of the recalcitrant, and allowed the monks that had been expelled to return home. Perhaps this clemency arose from anxiety about the future of his dynasty, against which his father's arbitrary rule had aroused a dangerous popular feeling. Since it appeared that he himself could not expect a long life, Leo IV. made his five-year-old son, Constantine, co-emperor, and caused the nobles to swear allegiance to the child in an unusually solemn manner. Nevertheless, Leo soon had to take measures to resist a plot which his own half-brothers, the sons of Constantine V. by a second marriage, had laid against him. The mercy which he showed them they soon afterward requited by a second attempt of the same sort. They were now consigned to a monastery; but even there they found ways and means to carry on their treasonable practices. Escaping from imprisonment, they made a last desperate attempt to excite the people of the capital to an open rebellion. They were now sent to Athens under strict imprisonment, and there perished miserably. For the Athenians were regarded at that time as especially reliable supporters of the Isaurian dynasty. A beautiful Athenian lady, Irene, shared the throne of Leo IV., and was the mother of the young co-emperor. She was a passionate and ambitious woman, on whom, as it seems, the partisans of image-worship had long fixed their hopes, and was only waiting for the moment when she could vigorously display in their favor her true sentiments, which thus far she had skilfully concealed. At his death, in 780, Leo IV. left her guardian of Constantine VI. (Fig. 46), who was now only ten years old.

With the reign of Irene, a time of severe distress without and new commotions within began for the empire, which more than ever needed a strong man at its head. The empress tried to make up for her lack of a ruler's talents by concocting intrigues, and to strengthen her hold upon the power by favoring parvenus who were blindly devoted to her. She attempted to divide her opponents and render them harmless by purposely encouraging discord and party strife at court. The Abbasides took advantage of the favorable moment to make a new attack, which brought them under the very walls of the panic-stricken capital. As early as 781 Calif Mahdi's second son, Harun, for whom so great a destiny was in store—he was the prince afterward called al-Rashid, i. e., "the Just"—advanced as far as the Bosphorus. This bold march so terrified the empress and her unwarlike court that they purchased from him an insecure peace at the price of a yearly tribute of 70,000 pieces of gold, and allowed him to retire unmolested with his rich

booty and a long array of prisoners. In subsequent years, as often as the Byzantines tried to escape the payment of this tribute, Harun, who since 788 occupied the throne in person, enforced it by invading the eastern provinces. At all events, the tribute was less costly than an unsuccessful war with so powerful an enemy would have been. On the northern boundary it was only by the utmost exertions that the Byzantines withstood the Bulgarians, who were prompt to take advantage of Irene's weakness for the enlargement of their own boundaries.

It is characteristic of that age that both empress and people felt much less anxiety about these military difficulties than about the reconciliation of the religious antagonisms that had been called forth by the hostility of the last three emperors to images. Irene herself, though a daughter of Athens, the home of enlightenment, had evidently from her youth up been strongly possessed by the sensual and superstitious ideas of the Iconoduli. She had only concealed her sentiments during her husband's reign, in order not to endanger her rank and future. Now, when she had attained the power, she inaugurated a complete revolution, in order to enable religious superstition to win a complete victory over enlightened despotism. Her conduct was certainly in accordance with the convictions and wishes of the vast majority of her subjects. Moreover, the ecclesiastics whom Leo III. and Constantine V. had made use of for the accomplishment of their purposes had, for the most part, merely yielded to the commands of the emperors without having any real scruples against image-worship. Unceasingly tortured by their consciences, threatened by the people and the monks, and alarmed by religious penalties from Rome, there was nothing that these men desired more earnestly than to be freed from the hopeless condition into which they had been brought by their dread of martyrdom. The only quarter from which resistance to Irene's plan was to be expected was the army, on which the power of the Isaurians was based and with the aid of which Leo III. and Constantine V. had enforced obedience to their decrees against images. This danger was removed by the dismissal of the veterans and careful selection of the new soldiers who took their place. Thus the new army was made a weapon with which obedience to the laws shortly to be issued in favor of image-worship could be enforced in case of need. The patriarch Paulus, tormented by remorse for the aid that he had rendered to the Iconoclasts, abdicated, in order to expiate his guilt in a cloister, and was replaced by a layman, Tarasius, who had held high offices of state and naturally looked at things only from a political point of view. An embassy opened the

way for peace with Rome, and secured the aid of Adrian I. (775-792) for the pious work. The laws against the use of images might now be violated with impunity, so that the image-worshippers in their gratitude rallied about the empress, while the opposite party learned to put up with the new order of things in silence. After these preparations, the decisive step was taken in 787, through a council at Nice. A third part of the members of this body were ecclesiastics from the monasteries, who had been bitterly persecuted as image-worshippers; while the few representatives of the party opposed to images that were present were intimidated by the troops standing outside, and did not venture to defend their cause at all earnestly. The facts that legates of Adrian I. were present, and that a few monks had arrived from Palestine who could be represented as the deputies of the eastern churches, gave, indeed, only a scanty support to the pretence that the council was ecumenical. The decrees that were passed were, as a matter of course, in full accord with the purposes of Irene and the priests who acted as her advisers. The council of Hieraeum was condemned as heretical, the memory of the patriarchs who had taken part in enacting the laws against images was cursed, and all who should obey those laws in future were expelled from the fellowship of the church. Furthermore, the assembled clergy declared that the images of the Saviour, the Virgin, the angels, and the saints might be revered by kissing them, and bowing the knee before them, while adoration, which belonged to God alone, was not to be paid them on any account.

In comparison with the radical decrees that had already been passed against images, the declarations of the Nicene Council of 787 were undeniably moderate. A kind of neutral condition of things was thus established, which was endurable even for the Iconoclasts, since it did not compel them to worship images, but merely permitted such worship. The decision was practically left to the conscience of each individual.

Perhaps in time the two parties might have learned to meet peaceably on this common ground. In that case the most indispensable condition for the prosperity of the realm would have been satisfied, and the name of 'the second Helena,' by which the exultant Iconoduli tried to place Irene on a level with the mother of Constantine the Great, would have had some degree of justification. But the bitter hatred and resentment that had been fostered by the controversy still rankled, and produced new calamities, new deeds of violence, and new religious and civil wars. The decrees of the Council of Nice did not satisfy the more fanatical of the image-worshippers, while the strenuous

opponents of images abominated them as being a relapse into superstition. Meanwhile, Irene, in her delight at holding power, which usually has an irresistible charm for precisely such natures as hers, systematically aimed at gaining permanent possession of it. She had purposely neglected the education of the young Constantine, and she now intentionally excluded him from his proper share in the government. The empress now entered upon a series of most discreditable intrigues, having for their object the dethronement of her son. She broke his engagement to Rotrud, the daughter of the great Frankish monarch, which was to have cemented the friendly relations that were opened at that time between the two empires. It may be conjectured that Irene did this for the reason that if Constantine had once become the son-in-law of the mightiest ruler of Christendom she could no longer have kept him in a dependence so unworthy of his rank. She now compelled him to marry an Armenian princess. All this left no doubt about Irene's purposes, and displeased the army, which wished to see an emperor once more in command as general-in-chief. Besides, many of the great officers of state were weary of the intrigues of female rule. Accordingly they planned the banishment of Irene; but she anticipated them, deposed, banished, or put to death the officials hostile to her, and imprisoned her son. She was in a fair way to seat herself firmly upon the throne when a revolt of the legions, who were in the field against the Arabs, compelled her (in 791) to release and restore to power Constantine VI., whom she had deprived of authority and removed from court.

But Irene was plotting not only to recover the power, but also to revenge herself on her son and his advisers. She carried on a process of deception for years, appearing to be only an affectionate mother, who had at heart nothing but her son's welfare and happiness, and thus lulled the young man into a fatal security. But in secret she was gaining over a party among the clergy who favored image-worship, and undermining her son's power by spreading evil reports against him. Moreover, Constantine himself repudiated his Armenian wife and entered into a new marriage with one of the ladies of the court. This drew upon him the hostility of the fanatical clergy. While he sternly checked their abusive talk and punished their leaders as instigators of rebellion, the dissatisfaction, which Irene and the influential Stauracius, one of the highest officials of the realm, were doing their best to foment, continually increased. Irene, who was still deceiving her son by a hypocritical show of affection, soon stood at the head of

a far-reaching conspiracy, which only waited her signal to strike the blow. But at the very last moment the scheme threatened to fail. Constantine appeared to suspect something, for he wished to leave for the camp, where he would be surrounded by his troops. At this the courage of Irene's accomplices sank, and it was only by threatening to reveal the whole conspiracy to her son that she could force them to carry the plot into effect. Constantine was surprised and imprisoned (797). He was then deprived of his eyesight, and thus condemned to pine away in misery, until a few years later death mercifully relieved him from his sufferings. His mother succeeded in benumbing her guilty conscience for a time amid the enjoyment of the imperial power, which she loved to display in idle pomp before the eyes of the people, and in pride at the service that she had done the church by restoring image-worship; but she could never feel secure, or rely upon the permanence of her good fortune. Surrounded by the petty malice of an unprincipled court, and bound to the instruments of her crimes by their common guilt, she never ceased to fear the coming of retribution. She was freed from Stauracius by his sudden death, just as he was on the point of dethroning her and seizing the throne. His place was taken by his old opponent Aëtius, who was in league with Irene since he had made her husband's uncles, who had repeatedly attempted to revolt, incapable of doing further harm. But Aëtius soon tired of the sway of the fickle woman and her courtiers, and wished to marry her to his brother Leo, in order to secure the imperial power for his own family. He was, however, anticipated in 802 by Nicephorus, the high treasurer. The latter was raised to the throne by a conspiracy, and crowned with the diadem by the patriarch. He forced Irene to abdicate, and give up the treasures that she had amassed. He then caused her to retire to Lesbos, where she closed her days in want and misery, earning her living by spinning. She was honored all the more by the grateful church, which included the generous patroness of the persecuted monks and restorer of image-worship in the number of its saints, and so tacitly absolved her in the sight of posterity from all the heavy load of guilt that would otherwise have rested upon her.

The reign of Nicephorus (802–811) brought the empire no relief. The avarice of the ex-treasurer was insatiable; and his oppressive system of taxation weighed equally upon all classes, and utterly destroyed the public prosperity. He even went so far as to lower the pay of the soldiers. This led to a mutiny, which he allayed by

deceitful promises. The clergy, who had been so haughty under Irene, he curbed with iron severity, and even compelled the church to recognize his unlimited authority through a synod, which met in 809, and declared that the emperor stood above the laws, and was not bound by them. Nevertheless, he won the respect of his people by his military ability, although he was not very successful in his wars against the Arabs and Bulgarians. In 802 a refusal to pay the usual tribute had caused Calif Harun-al-Rashid to make an attack, and the Byzantines were forced to conclude a disadvantageous peace. This treaty Nicephorus broke, only to be at once defeated a second time. This process was repeated several times. In spite of a severe defeat inflicted on him in Phrygia by the Arabs in 804, the Byzantine emperor took up arms again in 806; but the only result was that Harun's mighty army poured over Asia Minor and captured Heraclea in Pontus. Nicephorus speedily entreated for a peace, which was granted him; but he was forced to promise not to rebuild Heraclea. A tribute was also imposed upon the empire, and as a mark of vassalage Nicephorus was required to send to Bagdad a special tribute of three gold pieces yearly for himself and his household. He was not more fortunate in a campaign against the Bulgarians, and in the summer of 811 received from them a severe defeat, in which he lost his life. His son Stauracius escaped severely wounded to the capital, but retired to a cloister. The army and people, together with the clergy, called to the throne his brother-in-law, Michael Rhangabe, the grand master of the palace.

What it was that recommended this man for the office is not easy to see. If for any other reason people had hoped for better times under him, their expectations were bitterly disappointed in the two years of his reign. To be sure, the prodigal liberality of Michael I. (811-813) contrasted favorably with the sordid avarice of his predecessor. The clergy, to whom he had made definite promises at his accession to power, rejoiced at being freed from the oppression under which Nicephorus had ground them; but Michael did not display a single one of the qualities which were necessary for one who would rule the empire successfully. His zeal for image-worship and fondness for discussing vexed questions of doctrine supplied new fuel to the odious religious controversies; while he embittered by his cruelty those whom he persecuted. Many of his errors must probably be attributed to the influence of his vain and ambitious wife, Procopia, who even interfered in the management of the army and thought of appearing in the field.

This at last led to his fall. On an expedition against the Bulgarians, the discontented army revolted and raised to the throne the Armenian Leo, an experienced general. Michael fled to the capital, and purchased his life by promptly relinquishing the purple. He lived for many years afterward as a monk in a monastery near Constantinople.

Leo V., the Armenian, his successor, was chiefly conspicuous as a soldier. The legions which had become disorderly, were once more brought under rigid discipline; and in civil matters, too, the emperor's military strictness and punctuality produced a beneficial effect. When he had restored quiet, the people enjoyed once more a feeling of security to which they had long been strangers. What was most important of all, vigorous and successful measures were at last taken against the Bulgarians, who received a defeat near Mesembria, in 814, that kept them quiet for thirty years. Leo V. now believed that the time had come to issue new edicts against images, and so counteract the effects of the reaction that had taken place under Irene. His order for the removal of images was not obeyed; and the clergy who had favored image-worship even assembled and deliberated about measures of defence. Thereupon he imprisoned the leaders of the movement, deposed the Patriarch Nicephorus, who favored image-worship, and in 815 called a council which annulled the decrees of the Nicene council of 787. The contest was now renewed; and the scenes of horror which in former years had filled the empire with hatred, bitterness, sorrow, and lamentation recurred once more. While the strife was raging, Leo was assassinated at Christmas, 820, by some friends of a convicted traitor whom he had just respited from execution.

Amid the rejoicings of the Iconoduli, the respited prisoner, Michael II., the Stammerer (820-829), now left his dungeon, and mounted the throne. He was a man who accomplished much good by his strictness and ability; but the neutral attitude which, in accordance with his cool and sceptical temperament, he assumed in the image-controversy lost him the good will of both parties, merely because he restrained both with equal severity from persecuting one another. He did not, however, derogate at all from the imperial authority. On the contrary, he indicated that even that of the church was of no consequence in comparison by ordaining that the decrees of the synods relating to image-worship should still remain in force, whether they were in favor of images or against them. This left every one free to worship images or not as he might judge

best; but no one was allowed to disturb or molest another on that account. In the same conciliatory spirit he tried to come to an understanding with the Frankish church, which tolerated images, but not as objects of worship. Even before the close of Charlemagne's reign a synod had been held at Frankfort, in 794, which took this intermediate ground, and accordingly rejected the Nicene decrees of 787. In 825 a synod at Paris expressed itself to the same effect; but Michael II. could not succeed in obtaining from the pope a declaration of assent. After Michael's death his son Theophilus (829-842) ruled in a like spirit. He firmly insisted on the observance of law and justice, and endeavored to train the public officials, who had become very disorderly, to fulfil their duties conscientiously. Like his predecessors, he failed in overcoming the resistance of the image-worshipping monks; and his resentment at their obstinacy misled him into violent persecution of these irreclaimable zealots. On the other hand, he excelled his father, who had been uncultivated and without taste for intellectual pursuits, in his keen appreciation for art and science, which saw better days once more under his reign. He ruled with earnestness and conscientiousness for thirteen years, during which time the empire was, on the whole, recovering strength. The condition of the people, which had become very wretched, improved with the revival of industry and commerce. However, this favorable course of development was retarded by unsuccessful wars with the Arabs. In 838 Theophilus received a crushing defeat at Amorium in Phrygia, from the Calif Mutassim. But in spite of these troubles, the reign of Theophilus was one of the most fortunate that were vouchsafed to the much-harassed empire during that period; and his memory was long blessed by his subjects. Even after his death the work that he had begun was wisely carried on; and thus a good degree of progress, especially in art and science, was insured for a considerable time to come.

At the death of Theophilus his son Michael III. was not of age; and the mother of the latter, Theodora, was made regent. She was equally distinguished for piety and chastity, and for beauty. By her serious and prudent disposition, her moderation and discretion, and her quiet energy, aided by the advice of veteran officers of state, she brought the empire several more years of prosperity. In regard to the question of image-worship, she adhered to the conciliatory policy of Theophilus; so that the passionate excitement of former years ceased entirely, and the contending parties became accustomed

to mutual toleration. In one respect, however, she showed less clemency. The Paulician sect, which aimed at the revival of apostolic Christianity, had, since the latter part of the seventh century, gained numerous adherents, especially in the Pontic provinces. Theodora was forced to yield to the restless zeal of the fanatical image-worshippers, and cruelly persecuted the Paulicians; whereupon the latter revolted, formed an alliance with the Arabs, and from their inaccessible mountains carried on a bitter war against their countrymen. In protecting the frontiers, Theodora (Fig. 47) was not unsuccessful. The Byzantines lived on peaceful terms with the Califate of Bagdad, which was already being weakened by internal troubles. This peace was advantageous to all concerned, especially the eastern provinces.

The Bulgarians, too, remained quiet along the border; and the neighborly intercourse that sprang up between the two nations



FIG. 47. — Michael III. as youth, his mother, Theodora, and sister Thekla. Obv.: MIXAHL S (καὶ) ΘΕΚΛΑ. Rev.: The queen-regent ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΔΕΣΠΥΝΑ. Greek and Latin letters used indiscriminately. Size of original. (Berlin.)

enabled the Byzantine civilization to produce a gradual effect upon the barbarians. The Greek missionaries now ventured in larger numbers to Bulgaria, and preached the gospel. In Sicily, however, the Arabs conquered all the Byzantine possessions except Syracuse.

But finally the position of the faithful and conscientious regent became untenable. Theodora's brother, Bardas, purposely led the young emperor into a reckless and profligate mode of life, in order to secure himself a commanding influence when Michael should attain his majority. Theoctistus, the able and faithful high treasurer, was assassinated at the instigation of Michael and Bardas, because he refused to supply funds for their excesses. Theodora at last perceived that it was impossible for her to restrain her son's increasing demoralization. In 854 she gave up the regency, and retired into the seclusion of private life. Michael now assumed the authority; and Bardas, whose influence was all-powerful, was raised to the highest offices. The state of things which resulted was far worse

even than Theodora had feared. The emperor plunged into wild sensuality, and forgot the most important affairs of state in his love of the races in the circus, where the Blue and Green factions rioted and fought with each other as in the time of Justinian. He even appeared in person as the driver of a chariot in the races. Meanwhile Bardas, who had been made co-emperor with the title of Caesar, governed the empire as he pleased, and distributed honors and riches to the creatures with whose aid he doubtless hoped to ascend still higher. Thus the treasures that Theodora and Theoctistus had gathered by wise economy were soon dissipated; and in order to obtain fresh supplies, hands were laid on the gold and silver works of art; and the palaces and churches were despoiled of their ornaments. The image-worshippers complained loudly of this sacrilege.

But all the religious factions took equal offence at the dissolute and immoral conduct of the emperor. He plunged into frantic sensuality with his boon companions and mistresses, and at their riotous feasts insulted and defied the laws of God and man. He did not shrink from profaning even what was most sacred. The bigoted people heard with horror how he, in company with his dissolute associates, blasphemously parodied the services of the church, disturbed and ridiculed processions, and abused and dishonored priests, only to change again, and play for a time the part of a devout son of the church, and pay court to the stupid belief of the multitude in miracles. Meanwhile the Bulgarians appeared again before Constantinople, and pressed the city hard by land and sea: while the Paulicians issued from the mountains which they had successfully defended, and carried their ravages far into Asia Minor: and in Armenia and Mesopotamia the civilization that had revived there during the late peace was being destroyed by invasions of the Arabs.

At last this state of things became unendurable, especially as the caprices of the tyrant became more and more surprising and unexpected. No one felt that his life was safe, and it was precisely those most intimate with Michael who were exposed to the greatest danger. Hence it was they who finally brought his reign to an end such as it merited. To their circle belonged Basil, the Macedonian. His father was an ordinary farmer, who lived near Adrianople; his ancestors were said to be descendants of the Arsacidæ, who had once held the sceptre of Parthia. As the story ran, they came to the

West as fugitives, and were received at the court of Leo I., but became impoverished, and were forced to settle in a province. Basil and his parents had been taken prisoners by the Bulgarians; but he escaped from slavery by a daring flight, and as his family was utterly ruined, he journeyed to Constantinople in the most abject poverty in order to earn a living there. He was employed as servant in the house of one of the nobility, and by his beauty and bodily strength gained influential patrons. As he was an excellent rider and unsurpassed as a wrestler, he attracted to himself the attention of the emperor, who had a special taste for these arts. He was taken into Michael's service, and became his inseparable companion. Thus he gradually attained political influence, and outstripped all others in the emperor's favor by freeing him from Bardas, of whom he had long been weary. That favorite was accused of a conspiracy against Michael's life, and was killed by Basil in



FIG. 48.— Copper coin of Basil the Macedonian. '† Basilios, in God, king of the Romans.' Size of original. (Berlin.)

866, in the emperor's own tent in the midst of the camp. As a reward for this service, Basil was given the title of Caesar, and in that capacity governed almost without restraint, as Bardas had done before him. Michael sank deeper and deeper into wild debaucheries, but tried to fill every one with dread and horror by deeds of frantic cruelty, hoping to intimidate the people into silent obedience to his caprices. At last, however, Basil himself was endangered. He then headed a conspiracy, to which Michael III. fell a victim while intoxicated (September, 867).

The murderer of Michael III. now mounted the throne as Emperor Basil I. (Fig. 48.) However reprehensible were the means to which he owed his elevation, the manner in which he used his power was well calculated to cause his crimes to be forgotten, and to win for the founder of a new dynasty the confidence and attachment of his subjects. In contrast to the effeminate debauchee who had lately disgraced the throne, the valiant soldier, whose strength was

unbroken in spite of his dissolute life, impressed them strongly. They esteemed him the more because, instead of fixing his thoughts upon war and military fame, he made it his chief object to heal the internal troubles of the realm, and to reform its government, legislation, and administration of justice. He was obliged to take the field against the Paulicians, who had defeated the imperial armies, and ravaged the adjoining provinces with fire and sword. It was not until 873 that he could succeed in subjugating part of them, after destroying their principal fortress, Tephriste. The rest kept up the struggle for their faith among their mountains. Basil's wars against the Arabs, particularly in the west, if they did not prove signally successful, at least saved the empire from new losses of territory. But he was especially remarkable for his activity as an organizer, by means of which he checked the decadence of the Byzantine power, and strengthened once more the shattered foundations of the empire. A reform of the system of taxation relieved the poorer classes, and placed heavier burdens upon the wealthy. Instead of the senseless extravagance by which his predecessors had wasted vast sums of money, he practised strict economy; and this made it possible for him to expend large amounts for the advantage of the public. By building numerous churches he increased his reputation, and won the especial gratitude of the clergy. He removed from the administration of justice the despotic element, which gave the whims of the ruler the force of law and made high and low alike the sport of his caprice. In connection with this reform the jurisprudence of Justinian was revised, in order that its ordinances, which in many cases had become obsolete, might be brought into harmony with the needs of the times, and thus restored to usefulness. The work which resulted, containing six parts and sixty books, was not finished by Basil, but was completed under the two following reigns. After the misfortunes and commotions of the last decade, such an administration created a deep impression. Thus the new dynasty, which moreover intelligently fostered art (PLATE X.) and science, won the love of the common people.

But even this pacific reign was not free from the religious strife which had now become an essential element in the national life of the Byzantines. This contest exerted a decisive influence upon the whole subsequent development of the church; for it brought to a speedy and logical consummation the separation between the Romish and Greek churches, which had begun during the image



Allegorical Representation of the Festival of Easter.

Miniature in a manuscript of the Sermons of St. Gregory Nazianzen (Father of the Greek Church, A. D. 328-390), prepared for Emperor Basil the Macedonian. Paris, National Library. (From Bastard.)

controversy, and inwardly was already complete. By this separation the point about which the development of Christianity centred was permanently transferred to the West, whereas before it had been at one time Rome, at another Constantinople. Just as the political leadership of western Christendom had been taken away from the Byzantines when Charlemagne was crowned emperor, so in like manner they were now deprived of their religious supremacy. The Holy See, which in fact had long since thrown off the authority of the Byzantine emperors, now became the head of the western church. The cause of this quarrel Basil had received as a hateful legacy from his predecessors.

Ignatius, the patriarch of Constantinople, had drawn upon himself the displeasure of the Caesar, Bardas, by his outspoken condemnation of the impious conduct of Michael III. and his companions. He was deposed; and the court made Photius, a man who had held with credit high offices of state, patriarch in his stead. Photius was one of the foremost scholars of his age. His "*Bibliotheca*" contains extracts from nearly three hundred works on various subjects, many of which are lost. On theological questions also, he was a recognized authority; but he was a layman, and was obliged to receive consecration before he could enter his high office. Ignatius and his partisans rightly disputed the legality of this proceeding, and refused to recognize Photius. Thus arose a split in the Byzantine church, at the head of which now stood two patriarchs, who were employing against one another all the usual weapons of ecclesiastical warfare. Michael III. and Bardas then took a momentous step by bringing the matter before the bishop of Rome for his decision. Rome, which to all intents and purposes was already politically separated from the Byzantine empire, was thus recognized as a religious court of appeal superior to Byzantium. This step might have appeared safe enough had the pope fulfilled the expectations of the Byzantine court, and seized the opportunity to secure the favor of its rulers by sanctioning an act of manifest injustice. But nothing was farther from the thoughts of the man who had just mounted St. Peter's chair, the strict and zealous Nicholas I. (858-867), the first great champion of hierarchical principles, who, by taking stern measures against the adulterous King Lothair II., restored the church to its place as the appointed and authoritative guardian of public morality.

Michael III. and Bardas probably expected that the pope, after

hearing their one-sided account, would promptly decide in favor of Photius; but, instead, Nicholas I. sent legates to Constantinople to investigate the affair thoroughly, and rebuked both the emperor and Photius for the illegality of their conduct. But the two plenipotentiaries, Bishop Radoald of Porto, and Bishop Zacharias of Anagni, succumbed to the influences exerted upon them at Constantinople, and did just the opposite of what they ought to have done. In the spring of 861 a synod was held at Constantinople at which they were present. This body, which was packed and influenced in the manner customary in the Eastern empire, simply confirmed what had been done, compelled Ignatius to give up his office, and recognized Photius as patriarch. The two bishops returned to Rome with a Byzantine embassy. But there an ill reception awaited them; for Nicholas had intended to make use of the opportunity offered him by forcing the Byzantines to recognize his ecclesiastical supremacy, and concede a whole series of other demands. Perhaps if these had been granted without reserve, he would have been somewhat more leniently disposed in the case of Photius. Nicholas had interposed with earnest words in favor of image worship, which in the East was still in danger; he had demanded that, in accordance with ancient usage, the archbishop of Thessalonica should be acknowledged as the pope's vicar for all the European provinces of the Byzantine empire, and that the churches of Calabria and Sicily, which, in spite of the Arab conquest, still passed for Greek provinces, should be restored as part of the 'Patrimonium Petri.' His legates had unwisely given up all these demands. Nevertheless, Nicholas entered into the conflict. A Roman synod declared (May, 862) that the decrees of the synod held at Constantinople were invalid, and that Ignatius was the lawful patriarch. Photius, however, received consecration from Gregory, archbishop of Syracuse (who was by no means inclined to exchange his comfortable independence for the strict rule of the zealous bishop of Rome), and proceeded to exercise the powers belonging to the lawful head of the Byzantine church. In consequence, Nicholas gathered a large number of bishops of the Western church, in the spring of 863, and held a new synod at Rome, which issued severe decrees of punishment. Zacharias of Anagni, who had allowed himself to be won over to the side of Photius, was deposed and excommunicated. Photius and Gregory of Syracuse were anathematized; all who had been consecrated by

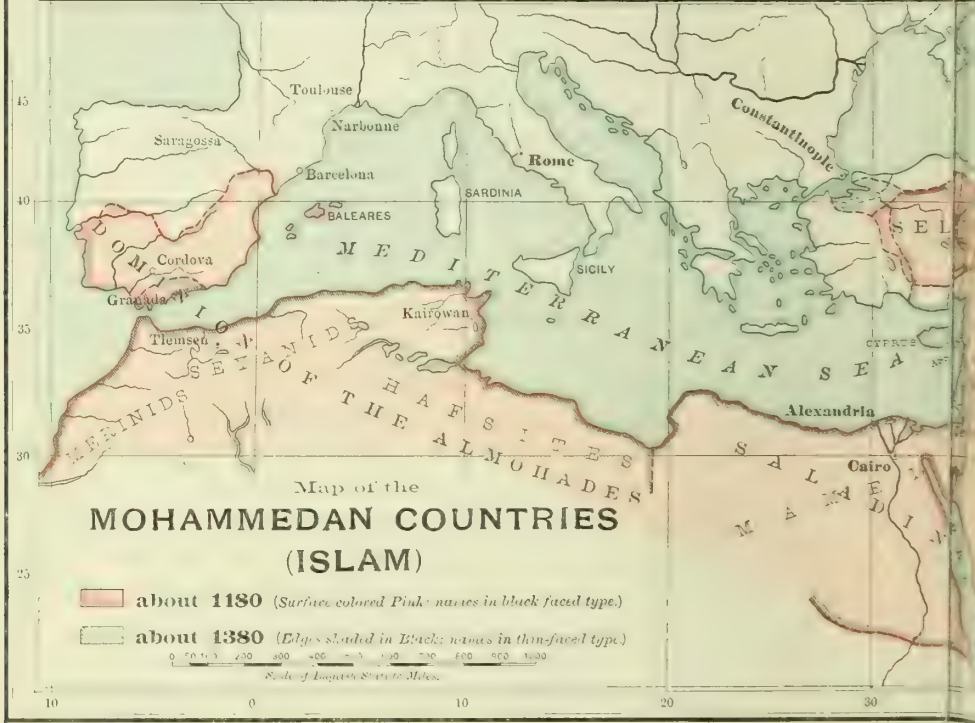
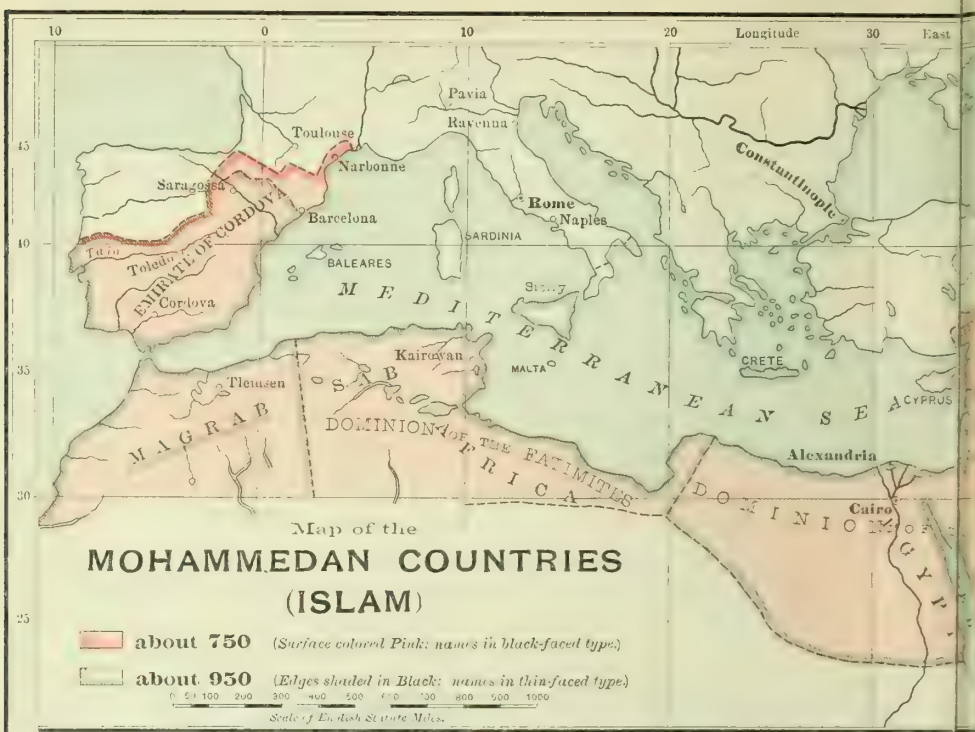
the former were deprived of their dignities, and Ignatius was restored to his patriarchate. The synod proclaimed once more the lawfulness of image worship, and anathematized the instigators of iconoclasm.

The fact that image-worship, which had nothing to do with the real question at issue, was thus dragged into the controversy, was regarded by the Byzantines as a challenge. It seemed to them that Nicholas was trying to disturb the peace of the Greek empire, which had been restored with so much difficulty, in order to obtain the recognition of his claims by the aid of the party hatreds which would thus be unchained. The impression produced by his conduct was heightened by another success which the Roman church gained about this time, and which the Byzantines considered very injurious to their interests. Boris, the prince of the Bulgarians, became a Christian, and received baptism from Greek monks, many of whom had long been working as missionaries among his people. He then helped on the victory of the gospel in his kingdom; not, however, without resorting to violent means. But for guidance and advice in organizing the Bulgarian church, Boris, who took the name of Michael, after his god-father, the Byzantine emperor, appealed to Pope Nicholas. The latter not only gave the wished-for instruction, but also sent Bishop Paulus of Populonia and Bishop Formosus of Porto to assist in this important work. Thus Rome reaped the fruit of the missionary labors of the Greek church among the Bulgarians. The Byzantines regarded this as a great detriment, from a political as well as religious point of view; and so the excitement against the Romish bishop, in whom they really saw only a revolted subject, was much increased. Photius was now enabled to come forward as the champion of the religious, political, and national claims of the Byzantines. A complication of affairs which had been brought about by the caprice of a sovereign assumed a universal significance, and the merit and importance of the new patriarch were correspondingly enhanced.

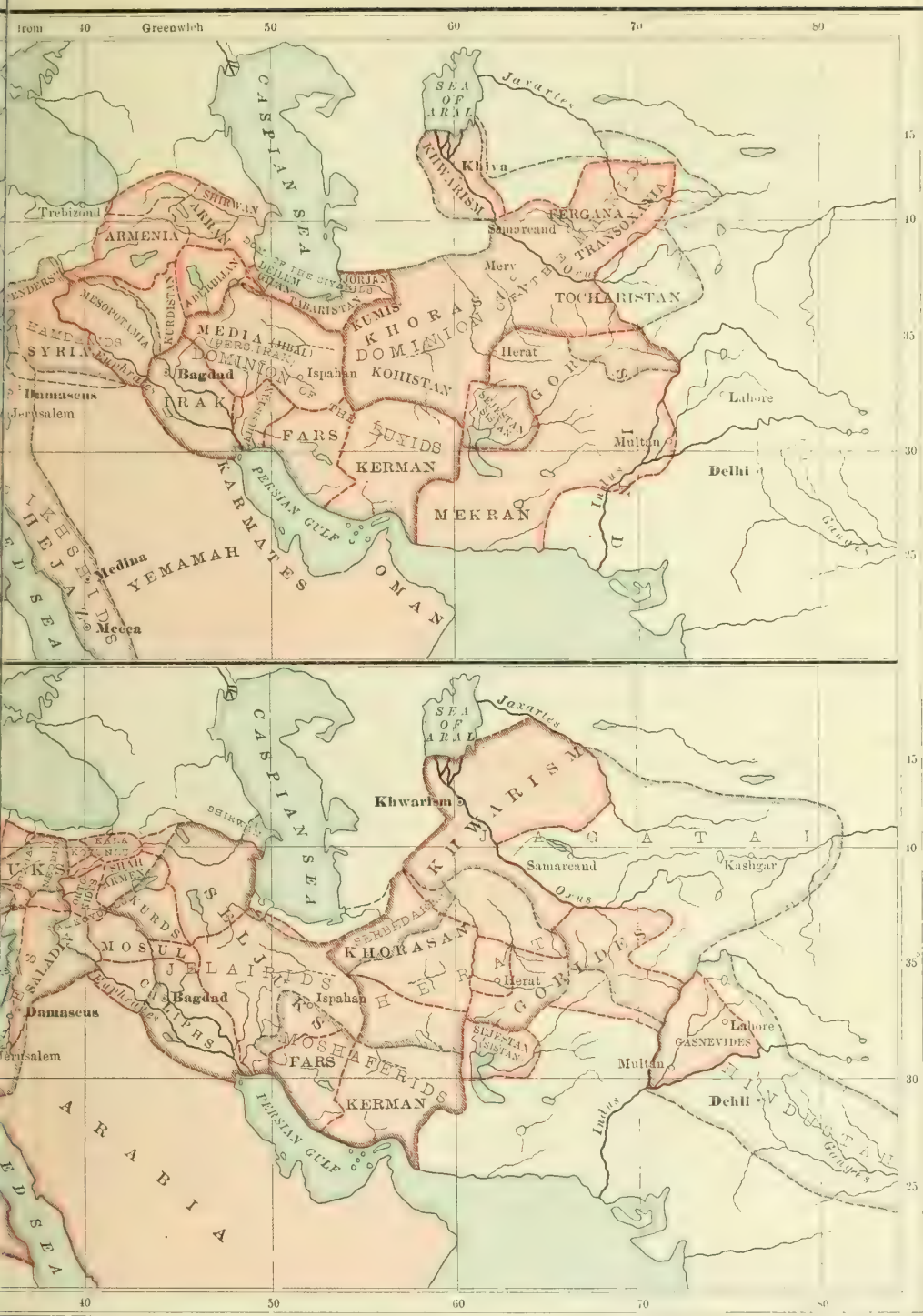
Photius skilfully took advantage of this situation, and assumed the offensive by passing over the immediate cause of the quarrel, and launching against the Roman church the charge of heresy. Certain differences in usage and doctrine existed between the two churches, but hitherto had not been regarded as insurmountable obstacles to their unity. These were now all at once treated as arbitrary and culpable innovations of the Roman church, and it was declared that

only the Greek church was orthodox. The Byzantines, and especially the inhabitants of the capital, were very easily excited by religious controversies; and it was not hard for Photius to convince them that the pope intended to force upon them the western doctrine of the origin of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, as it had recently been formulated by the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 809. In regard to this point of doctrine, the Greeks strictly adhered to the Nicene Creed in its unaltered form; and Photius asserted that Nicholas was trying to endanger the eternal salvation of them all. A synod, presided over by Photius, Michael III. (not a very competent judge in religious matters), and the Caesar Basil, was held in Constantinople. It declared Nicholas I. deposed from office, and excommunicated him and his adherents. At the same time Photius tried to win the favor of Emperor Louis II., who was then at variance with the pope on account of the latter's severity toward Lothair II. Nicholas, however, yielded somewhat to Louis in order to prevent an alliance of the two emperors, and showed himself inclined to take milder measures in the case of King Lothair: for the pope found it necessary to gather the whole western church around himself for unanimous resistance to Byzantium, as he intended to overthrow Photius by means of a western synod. Then came an unexpected turn of affairs. Michael III. was murdered, and Basil mounted the throne. Photius had the moral courage to oppose the usurper, and excluded him from the fellowship of the church. Basil, of course, lost all interest in sustaining the patriarch who had been forced upon the Greek church. Photius was deposed and banished, and Ignatius resumed his office. Nicholas I. did not live to see this triumph, but it exerted a momentous influence upon the subsequent relations between the two churches and upon the future of the Holy See.

The new pope, Adrian II. (867-872), was inferior to Nicholas in ability; but the course of papal policy was so clearly marked out by his predecessor that he could scarcely go astray. In the summer of 869 Adrian held a council in the church of St. Peter. This assembly condemned the Byzantine synod of January, 867, annulled its decrees, and ordained that they should be burned, recondemned and anathematized Photius, and offered thanks to Basil for his intervention. Papal legates went to Constantinople to see that these resolves were carried into effect. They were ratified in October, 869, by a new synod, which signalized the complete victory of



Maps.—The Mohammedan



AFTER H. LILLIES.

Countries from A. D. 730 to 1380.

the papacy over the Greek church, and brought the new Pseudo-Isidorian decretals into recognition in the East. But Rome could not hold the position that she had reached. In the Byzantine empire, where the church was so intimately connected with the whole life of the state, people felt that they had received a severe defeat. Their national pride was all the more deeply humiliated because they had long been inwardly estranged from the Roman church. Photius, when abandoned by the emperor and the fickle clergy of the court, refused to say a word in his own defence before judges who had no right to pronounce a verdict in his case. This dignified conduct made a deep impression upon the common people and the lower ranks of the clergy. Photius seemed to be the only lawful champion of the Byzantine church, and the nation gave him its hearty sympathy. Furthermore, the quarrel about the Bulgarian church was renewed at this synod of 869. The Byzantines refused to give up that church to Rome, and actually retained control of it by appointing over it a metropolitan bishop, who was consecrated by Ignatius. The attempts of Rome to maintain her ground in Bulgaria led to hostility between Ignatius and John VIII. (872–882), the successor of Adrian II. Ignatius died in 879, and the Emperor Basil restored Photius to the patriarchate. John VIII. then recognized Photius as patriarch, and thereby gave up entirely the position which Nicholas had staked the entire authority of the church to maintain. In spite of some reservations made by Rome, people saw in this, with good reason, a decisive defeat of the papacy. The Byzantine church had preserved its independence, and was now completely separated from that of Rome. The Bulgarians remained in religious union with Byzantium. On the other hand, in the adjoining kingdom of the Moravians, the contest between the two churches resulted in favor of Rome.

That the Byzantine empire, disorganized, misgoverned, and torn by religious feuds, had not already been crushed under the burden of its misfortunes, seems almost miraculous. It was enabled to maintain its existence only by the weakness and decadence of the most dangerous of its enemies, the Califate. (See PLATE XI., Map of the Mohammedan Countries.)

Abul Abbas (750–754) dethroned the Omayyads, and obtained possession of the califate by the most inhuman cruelty. Only the extreme west refused to obey him. The only Omayyad who had

escaped the sword of the executioner, Abd-er-Rahman, son of Moawiyah, fled through Northern Africa to Spain, where he was received with joy, and raised to the throne. From Cordova, his capital, Abd-er-Rahman ruled the western califate, which in the sight of the partisans of the Omayyads was the only legitimate one, whether considered from a political or from a religious point of view. The successor of Abul Abbas, his nephew, Al-Mansur (754-775), believed that he could most effectually secure the power to his family by showing merciless severity, and putting to death all suspicious and obnoxious persons, as well as those who had done him too much service. He founded a new capital, Bagdad, which was so favorably situated that it soon became one of the world's great commercial cities, and a royal seat of much splendor. Mansur's love of science soon made it also an important intellectual centre for the Moslem world, although he brought upon himself much blame and derision by his avarice, which he could not overcome even in his intercourse with scholars and poets. Under his son, Mohammed al-Mahdi (775-785), the bloody origin of the Abbasside power began to be in some measure forgotten. Al-Mahdi was an amiable and splendid ruler, distinguished for mildness, goodness, benevolence, and liberality. He made the court of Bagdad once more the seat of refined and cultivated enjoyment, and united with great severity toward all disobedience a high reputation for incorruptible integrity.

The elder of al-Mahdi's two sons was poisoned in consequence of family disputes, after occupying the throne a short time. The reign of the younger, Harun-al-Rashid (i.e., 'Aaron the Just'), 788-809, marks the culmination of the power of the Abbassides and the califate of Bagdad. He was a worthy contemporary of Charlemagne, and was honored like him by the men of that day and of after times. Like him, too, Harun became the hero of countless stories and traditions which served to show his noble qualities. But the accounts of this calif which have come down to us are far too favorable. The historic Harun was by no means free from the evil traits which belonged to the Abbasside family, — mistrust, avarice, implacability, and excessive severity. He displayed these most conspicuously toward his vizier, the Barmecide Jaffar, who had done him much service. Jaffar belonged to a noble family related to the kings of Persia, and his father and grandfather had already held high offices in the service of the Abbassides; but he atoned for

his love for the calif's sister by death at the hands of the executioner. Moreover, although Harun repeatedly attacked the Byzantine empire, and forced it to pay him tribute, yet the decay of the califate began under his reign. In northwestern Africa the Edrisites, who were descended from Ali, became independent sovereigns in Fez and Morocco. Farther east the fanatical Aglabites made Kairwan, the holiest city of northern Africa, their capital. In the interior of Asia the warlike tribes of the steppes beyond the Oxus, who had been only loosely united to the califate, began to revolt. While on an expedition against them, Harun (Fig. 49) died in 809, perhaps from poison.

The decay of the califate ensued at once. Some features of it form a surprising counterpart to what was going on at the same



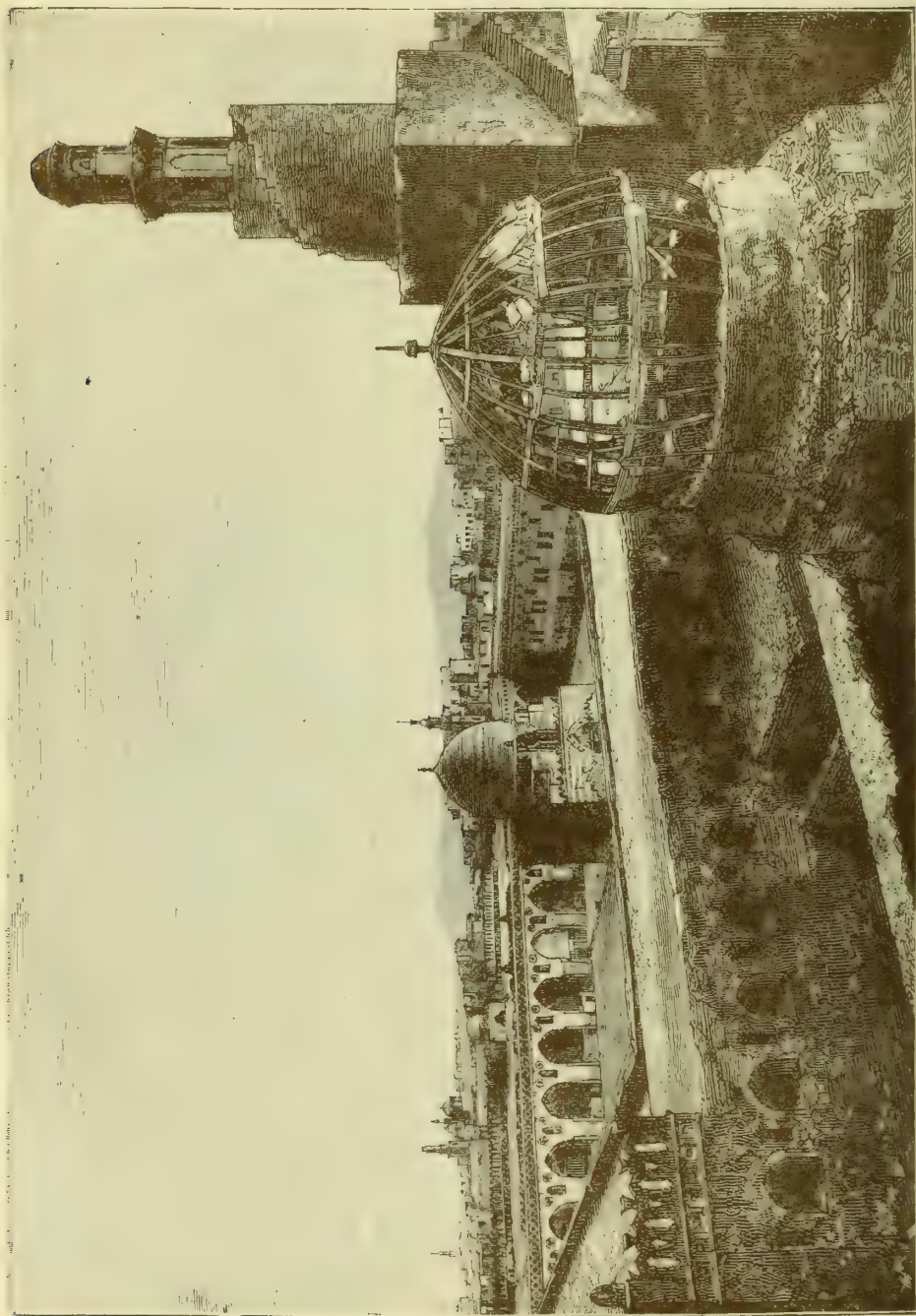
FIG. 49. — Dirhem of Harun-al-Rashid. Silver. Translation: Obv.: 'No God but | Allah alone | he hath none like him |.' On the margin: 'In the name of Allah this dirhem was struck in the city of Salvation in the year 190 [= 806 A.D.]. Rev.: 'Mohammed | [is] the [one] sent | of Allah |.' Below a mint-mark. On the margin: 'Mohammed is the one sent of God. Through him hath he sent guidance and true religion, to make him Lord over religion, even though the worshippers of idols would suffer it not.' Size of original. (Berlin.)

time in the Carolingian empire. Like Charlemagne, Harun had ordained a kind of division of his realm. He made his second and favorite son, Mohammed al-Emin, his successor as calif; while the third, Kasim, received Mesopotamia and the adjoining part of Syria; and the eldest, Al-Mamun, was placed over the spacious provinces of the East, as far as the Indus and Jaxartes. Emin, however, claimed sovereignty over the whole realm; but the army which he sent against Mamun was defeated (811) by the general of the latter, Tahir. Mamun derived his support mainly from the Persians; and thus an element of national hatred was introduced into the quarrel between the two brothers. This hatred was strengthened by the religious antagonism between the Persians, who were Shiites, and the Arabs, who were Sunnites; and thus the fatal wedge of discord was driven into the realm. Tahir soon appeared before Bagdad. The city was besieged, and was finally captured after receiving

much damage. Emin was killed, and the office of calif was transferred to Mamun. But the latter soon found himself hard pressed by revolts and desertions. The religious zeal of the Shiite Persians against the Arabs who clung to the old, pure faith was constantly leading to outbreaks of violence, and caused party conflicts at the court of the calif. These quarrels paralyzed the strength of the government and engendered new hatred. The malcontents set up Mamun's uncle, Ibrahim, a very cultured man, as a rival calif; but he soon wearied of this thankless rôle and withdrew from it. Embittered by such proceedings, Mamun defied the orthodox Moham-medans by openly disregarding certain precepts of the Koran,— e.g., at court festivals he drank wine, and had it poured out for him. He even denied the divine origin and the infallibility of the Koran, and wished that work to be made the subject of critical research and interpretation. His tendency toward free thought helped the development of learning; for the champions of orthodoxy were compelled, in their turn, to make a learned defence of their position. Thus the time of Mamun, in which the first decisive steps toward the dissolution of the califate were taken, was the culminating period of its intellectual life.

Mamun's successor, his brother Mutassim, surnamed Billahi (i.e., 'he who trusts in God') (833-842), had, like Mamun himself, to contend against numerous rebellions. He developed still further the military character of the califate by organizing a numerous body-guard. This was recruited for the most part from Turkish slaves. For the warlike energy of the Arabs, to which Islam owed its brilliant successes at the outset, had long since been exhausted. The Arabs no longer regarded the propagation of their faith as their highest mission, nor esteemed death in battle against the unbelievers their most glorious reward. Since they had become inhabitants of great commercial cities, and had been trained in agriculture and many other forms of industry by those whom they had vanquished, economic interests outweighed all others in their minds. In this way the religious and national basis upon which the califate rested became insecure, and the two most important sources of its power were cut off. Meanwhile the strictly orthodox, who naturally advocated the preservation of the old political and social system as well as of the old religion, were driven more and more to take sides against their rulers. From these circumstances the power of the califate rapidly declined. After the middle of the ninth century

PLATE XII.



Mosque of Ibn-Tulun in Cairo. (From a photograph.)

History of All Nations, Vol. VIII., page 195.

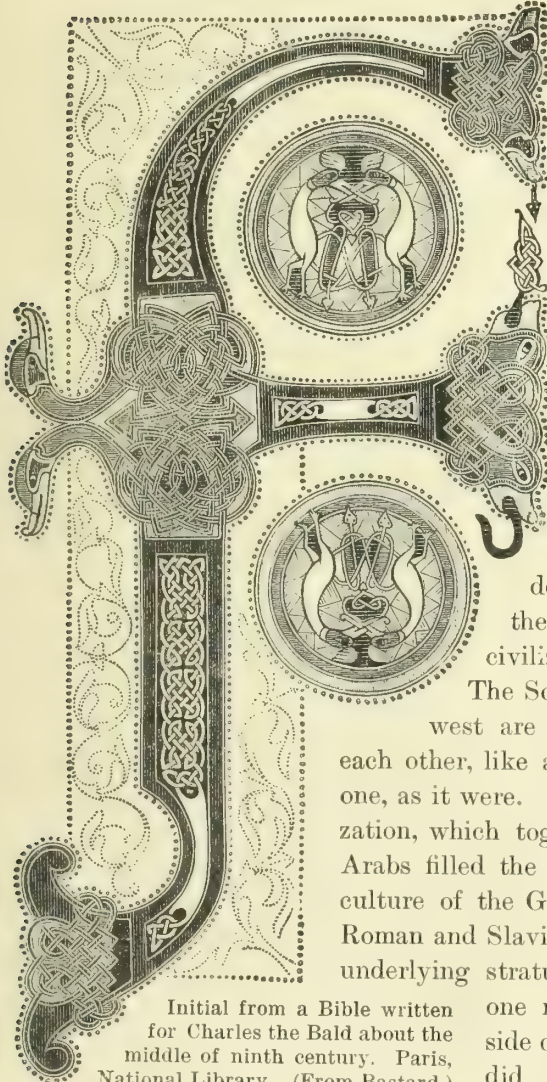
Mutassim's successor, his son Alwathik (842-847), provoked the zealots by his dissolute life and by insulting and persecuting them in many ways. Alwathik's brother, Jaffar al-Mutawakkil (i.e., 'the Trusting') (847-861), then mounted the throne. He belonged to the orthodox party, and punished with great cruelty all the errors in life and doctrine which his predecessors had tolerated. Under al-Mutawakkil's reign the Christians were once more bitterly persecuted. His increasing severity, and in particular the dreadful extortions that he practised, at last led to a conspiracy in his body-guard, to which he fell a victim in 861. His son Muntassir was raised to the throne by the conspirators, but survived only a few months.

During the next few years the califs followed one another in rapid succession. They were all, without exception, men of no great force of character, and many of them were stained with all the vices of an Oriental court. The state which had once enjoyed such splendid prosperity relapsed into a dreadful condition of barbarism; and its decline was marked by frequent change of rulers, horrible revolutions at court, and savage murders. The respect felt for the califs decreased day by day, and at last they became mere figure-heads. The soldiers, who had obtained all the power, made use of them in order to plunder the people in their name, and deposed and murdered them as soon as they showed an intention of checking disorderliness among the troops, or did not yield to their wishes with sufficient readiness. These hordes were for the most part recruited from foreign peoples (especially the Turks); and their supreme commander, who bore the title of Emir al-Omra, was the real master of the empire, while the calif played only the subordinate part of a religious representative of Islam. Under such circumstances, the ties that held the empire together were loosened, and the viceroys of the provinces one by one became independent. The califate gradually faded into a mere name, while the authority of the ruler and his military guardians did not extend far beyond the neighborhood of Bagdad. Thus the great monarchy of the East was broken up into smaller independent kingdoms by a process similar to that which at the very same time was destroying the Carolingian empire in the West. In the far East the Tahirids, descendants of Mamun's valiant general Tahir, founded a kingdom of which Khorasan formed the centre. In Egypt the family of the Turkish upstart Aehmet ibn-Tulun (PLATE XII.), the Tulunides, obtained the power, and ushered in a short period of renewed prosperity; but toward the end

of the ninth century they were conquered by the army of the Calif Muktasi. The feuds which resulted from this condition of things were embittered in many cases by the rise of religious enthusiasts, and of fanatical sects founded by them. As Islam grew more and more disunited, these sects became more numerous, and were involved in ever-increasing confusion.

CHAPTER VIII.

A SURVEY OF THE CAROLINGIAN AGE WITH REFERENCE TO ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.



Initial from a Bible written for Charles the Bald about the middle of ninth century. Paris, National Library. (From Bastard.)

OUR groups may be distinguished, if we take a general survey of the whole development of civilization in its different departments during the Carolingian age, two of which, adjoining one another in space, and also inwardly connected, can be opposed to the other two in such manner that their alternate effects on each other determine the lines which the course of the world's civilization was to follow.

The Southeast and the Northwest are widely separated from each other, like an old world and a new one, as it were. In the Byzantine civilization, which together with that of the Arabs filled the southeast, the surviving culture of the Greeks was mingled with Roman and Slavic elements, and a strong underlying stratum of Christianity, into one motley whole. By the side of this existed the splendid civilization which the

Arabs and the tribes and peoples who had come under their powerful influence had developed upon the soil of Islam. This civilization had sprung up with the rapidity of some tropical plant, and in a short time had reached an astonishing pitch, not merely in regard to the outward comforts and conveniences of life, but also in the intellectual sphere. It united the acquirements of Indian philosophy to the wisdom inherited from the Greeks, and, starting from this vantage-ground, followed paths of its own, and conquered realms entirely new. In particular, geography and history attained a high grade of development, compared with which the contemporary achievements of the West in the same fields appear modest in the extreme.

Over against this southeastern world, which was divided between Byzantines and Mohammedans, stood the northwest, which was occupied by the Romance and Germanic groups of nations. These peoples were the representatives of a comparatively young civilization, which was just aspiring to rise higher, and as such were far in advance of the Slavs and North-Germans, for whom they served as the intermediaries of other spheres of civilization. The Romance and Germanic peoples really form the centre of the entire civilization of that time, and that not merely in respect to their geographical position, but also because of the intellectual impulses which they received and imparted in their intercourse with the vigorous though barbarian races of the north, and the Greek and Moslem populations of the south and east.

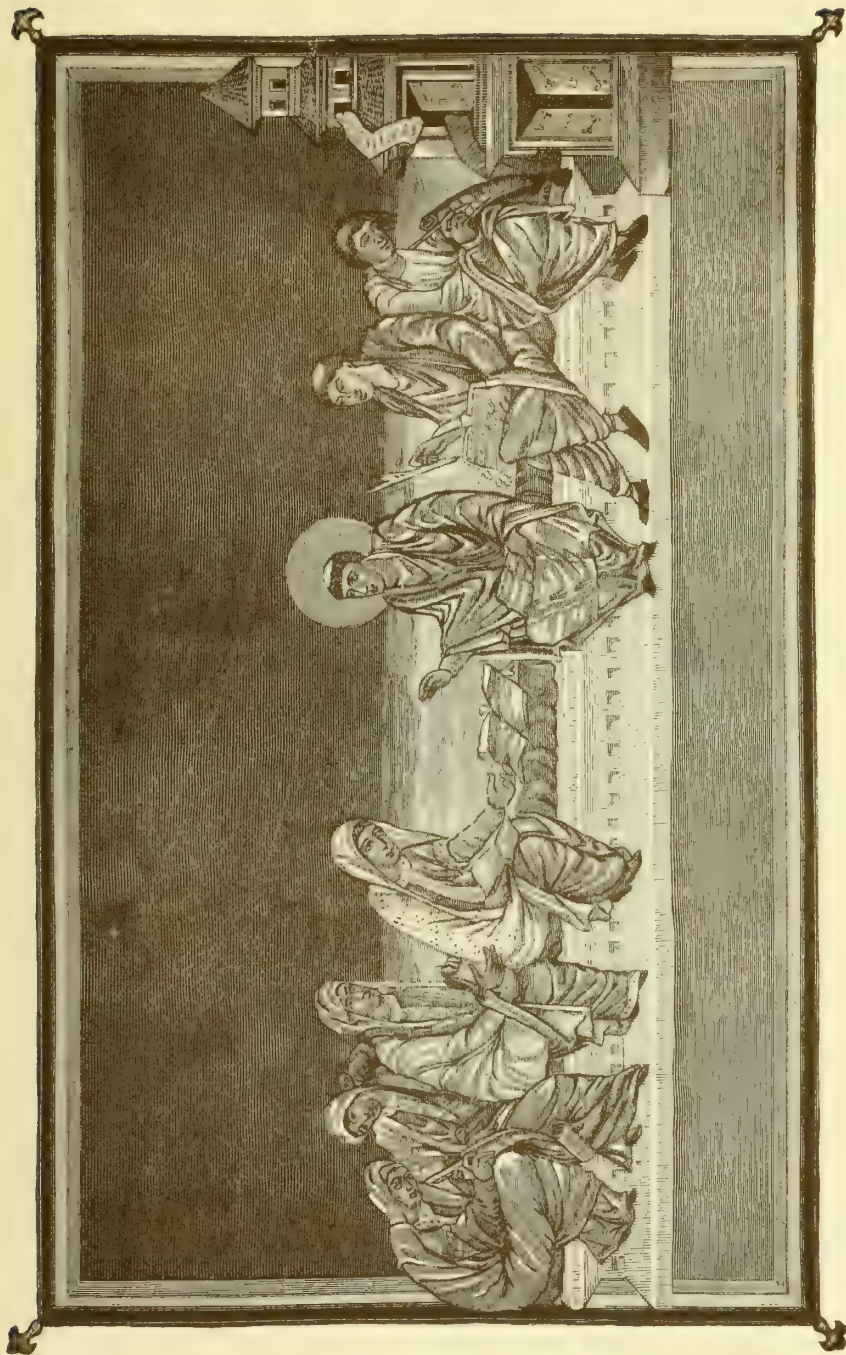
The foundation on which the western civilization was reared was, and continued to be, common to the Romance and Germanic peoples (PLATE XIII.¹) The whole administration of Charlemagne

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

Clergy and noble ladies in the ninth century. Miniature in a Bible written for Charles the Bald in the abbey of St. Martin of Tours. Paris. National Library.

In the miniature St. Jerome is represented expounding the Holy Scriptures to Paula and other noble ladies. He wears the costume of the members of the Abbey of St. Martin,—a chasuble, surplice, and long tunic. The ladies sit upon the same bench with him; they wear garments and veils in part embroidered with gold; and their costume, except the veil, resembles that of the men. At St. Jerome's left are two monks writing. The bench upon which they sit is of a type common throughout the Middle Ages, where it used to run along the walls of rooms. The tower-like object at the right was at once a bookcase and a writing-desk. Such articles of furniture, known as *armaria*, were in use as late as the twelfth century. A revolving cylinder was fastened in the armarium; to this the strips of parchment were attached upon which the scribes wrote. The various forms of books in the early Middle Ages are well illustrated in this miniature; we see leaves of different shapes, oblong as well as square; books bound in modern fashion, or in rolls, composed of narrow strips stitched together.

PLATE XIII.



Clergy and noble ladies in the Ninth Century.

Miniature in a Bible written for Charles the Bald in the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours Paris, National Library.

History of All Nations, Vol. VIII., page 138.

gives proof of this, and was adapted and calculated gradually to unite the two races together in a fellowship which could not be broken. The success of his policy was, however, restricted because the advocates of the ideas which sprang from memories of the Roman empire dreamed of one universal state and one universal church; and the process by which this unity was to be secured threatened to destroy the national characteristics of the Teutons. It was the hostility which Louis the Pious excited by recklessly sanctioning these centralizing and equalizing tendencies that first aroused and strengthened in the German tribes the consciousness of their being a distinct nation. The same cause also contributed much to the political separation which sundered the Germans from the Romance peoples in the period when the Carolingians were engaged in family feuds and wars about questions of inheritance. The first public expression of this separation was, as has already been said, in the oaths which Charles the Bald and Louis the German took in the presence of their armies at Strasburg in 842 (Fig. 50; see also p. 131). At that time the Romance tongue had not yet been used for literary purposes. In the eyes of the clergy, who were still the only class that engaged in any kind of literary composition, that language still retained a barbarous character, which, indeed, must have been conspicuous enough in this first stage of development, especially when compared with the polish of the Latin. Moreover, the elements which united to form the French nation of later times were as yet bound together by ties so purely external that no common language adapted for literary use could arise by the side of the Latin, which owed its supremacy to the church.

The German peoples who belonged to the Carolingian empire were more fortunate in this respect. In the new age which began with the rise of the Frankish power they still retained the precious store of their common national legends and traditions, which had been still further enriched by the eventful centuries of the Great Migrations. Their strongly marked national character resisted even the mighty influence of the Romance civilization which the church brought to them. We know with what sympathy and appreciation Charlemagne fostered this part of the intellectual life of the Germans by providing that the old tales and songs of his people should be recorded. Unfortunately for our knowledge of ancient German poetry, his son Louis the Pious in this, as in many other matters, pursued an exactly opposite course, and systematically tried to ex-

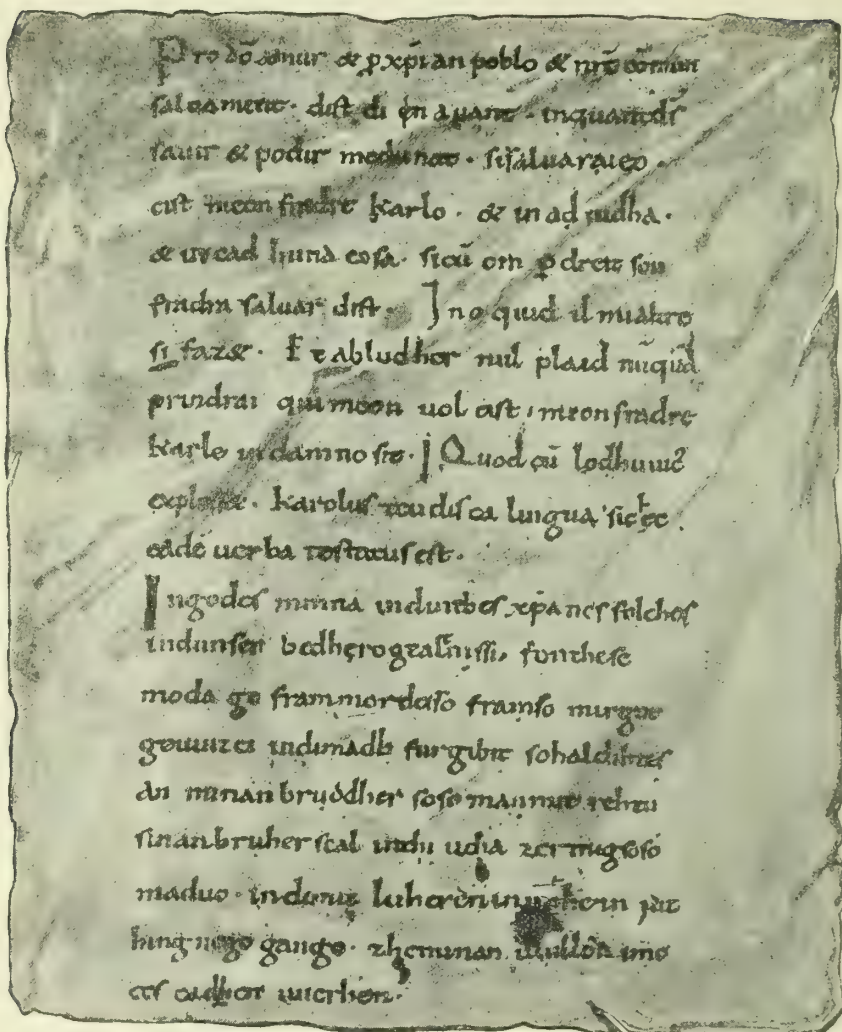


FIG. 50. — Facsimile of the Strasburg Oaths taken by Louis the German and Charles the Bald in 842, as recorded in Nithard's Frankish history, — a manuscript of the tenth century.¹ Paris, National Library.

¹ Above is the oath as taken by Louis in the *lingua romana* :

Pro Deo amur et pro Christian poblo et nostro commun
saluament, dist di in avant in quant Deus
saur et podir me dunt si saluareio
cist meon fradre Karlo et in adiudha
et in cadhuna cosa si cum om per dreit son
fradra saluar dist, in o quid il me altre —
si fazet : et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam
prindrai qui meon vol cist meon fradre
Karlo in damno sit. (See note on p. 201.)

tirpate the old songs and tales as being offensive and dangerous remnants of heathenism. Better times returned under Louis the German, in whose reign the memorials of German antiquity were held in honor, and preserved for posterity. The king himself loved and appreciated them; for in a prayer-book which belonged to his wife, Emma, and has luckily been preserved to us, has been copied the remarkable poem called *Muspilli*, which treats of the conflagration of the world. The fragment of it which is extant shows how biblical and Christian ideas were then mingled with reminiscences from the old heathen mythology into a poetic whole. Otfried, a monk of the monastery of Weissenburg in Alsace, sent to Louis the German his poem commonly called the 'Krist.' This is a poetical résumé of sacred history, written in rhymed strophes, and is not without a charm of its own. The writer, though devout, shows pride and joy in his own strong and valiant German nation. A remarkable counterpart to this work is found in the so-called 'Heliand,' a poem on the same subject, written in the Low German tongue, and in alliterative verse. This relates the life and sufferings of the Redeemer in an attractive and popular style, and receives a peculiar coloring highly characteristic of the age from the fact that the author tries to portray the Jewish land and people after the model of his own native country, Saxony. He draws a picture of the Saviour and his apostles which resembles a Saxon prince and his retinue. This example shows very clearly how little the German mind comprehended at first the world which was just being revealed to it, and with what simplicity it encountered the new influences.

Then comes the statement that Louis's oath was followed by that of Charles, in the *teudisca lingua* :

In godes minna ind in thes christianes folches
ind unser bedhero gealtnisse, fou these
-mo dage frammordes so fram so mir Got
geurizei indi madh furgibit so haldih tes-
an minan brudher soso man mit rehtu
sinan brudher scal, in thiū, thaz er mig soso-
ma duo; indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu t-
hing ne gegango, the minan willon imo
ce scadhen werhen.

TRANSLATION.

For the love of God, and for the sake as well of our peoples as of ourselves, I promise that from this day forth, as God shall grant me wisdom and strength, I will treat this my brother as one's brother ought to be treated, provided that he shall do the same by me. And with Lothair I will not willingly enter into any dealings which may injure this my brother.

The storm and stress of the decades which followed the death of Charlemagne were most unfavorable to literary production. Civil wars, disputes about the succession, fierce religious feuds, and the inroads and devastations of the Northmen, naturally paralyzed all higher intellectual life; and the wearing struggle for existence made it impossible to cherish aspirations toward the ideal. Even contemporary history, which in other cases gave the Germanic peoples such a profitable stimulus, offered no inviting subject for popular poetry. Quite by itself stands the poem in which a monk of the Flemish monastery of St. Amand celebrated in vigorous strains the victory which the West-Frankish king, Louis III., gained over the Northmen in 881, at Saucourt. But even in this composition the preponderance of the religious mode of thought is noticeable. The writer represents the valiant Carolingian as a champion of the faith who was chosen by God, and sees in his victory a triumph of Christianity over the heathenism of the north.

The art of painting in this period was employed especially in the illustration of ecclesiastical manuscripts (PLATE XIV.).

How little originality the civilization of the Romance and Germanic nations possessed during the ninth century, and how much that civilization depended upon what the Romans had accomplished, is especially manifest in the domain of the plastic arts, although the remains which have come down to us are very scanty. The architecture shows mere imitation of famous Roman structures. Charlemagne even caused entire sections of buildings to be transported across the Alps, in order to use them in the edifices which he was rearing in the north. The palaces of Rome and Ravenna in particular had to supply many pieces of ornamentation for the residences of the Carolingian kings. Such royal seats were built at Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimwegen, Diedenhofen, and Heristal (which was the ancient home of the Carolingian family): also on the Rhine, at Ingelheim and Worms. None of these structures have left any remains worth mentioning. We have, indeed, contemporary accounts of the famous palace at Aix; but it may be questioned whether these reflect the reality, or merely give a splendid picture the original of which existed only in the poet's imagination, influenced by recollections from antiquity (Fig. 51).

Under these circumstances we can form only a very general idea of those famous Carolingian palaces. It would seem, however, that, although the local conditions existing in each case were taken

PLATE XIV.



Painting in a Missal written in golden letters.

The central figure is that of Pope Gregory I. Example of the paintings in Carolingian ecclesiastical manuscripts of the ninth century. Paris, National Library. (From Bastard.)

History of All Nations, Vol. VIII., page 202.

into account, the structures regularly possessed certain common features which can be perceived in the general plan of the whole. Although in the course of time the distinctively palatial character of



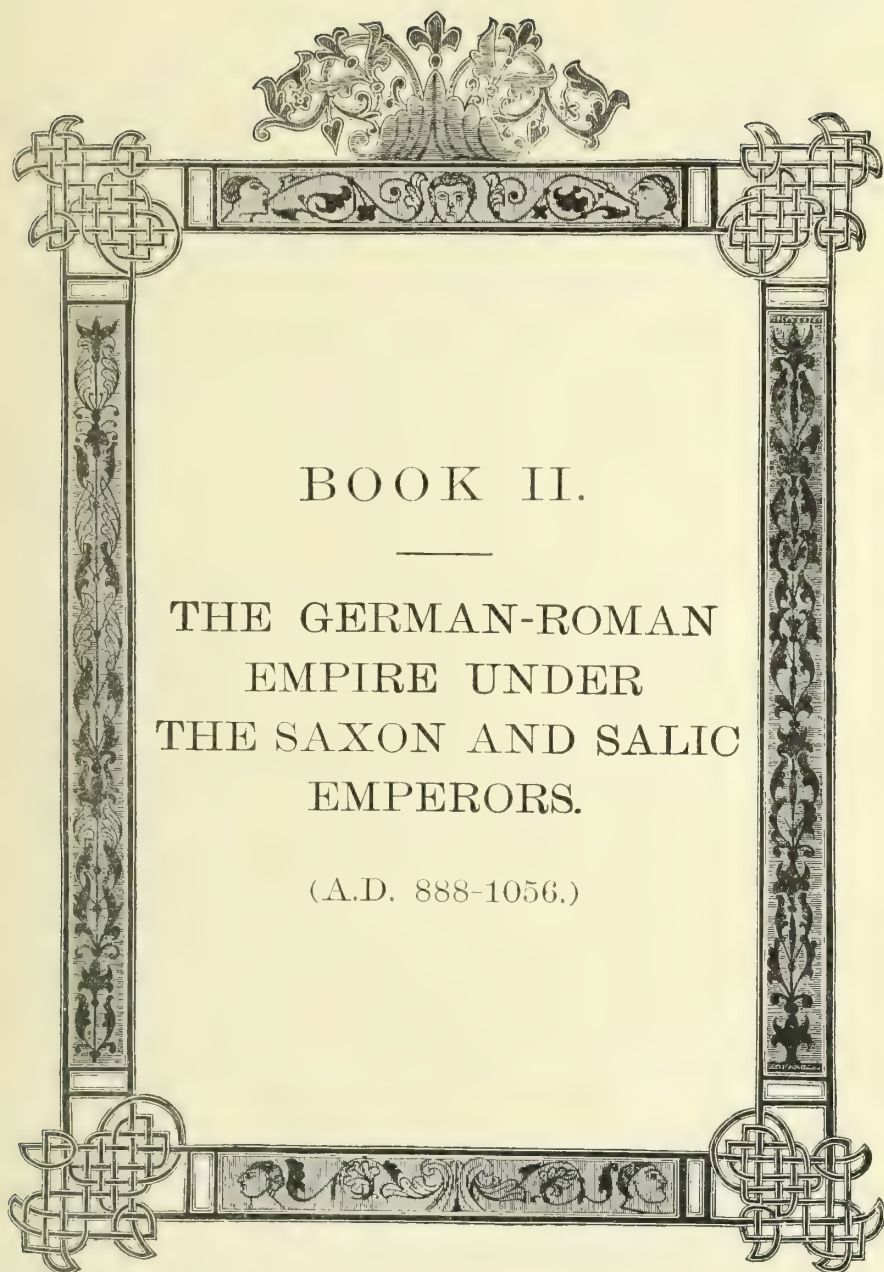
FIG. 51. — Frankish ivory carving on a book-cover of the ninth century. Paris, Louvre. Subject: David dictating the Psalms; above, David on his throne, holding a parchment-roll in his hand, and flanked by his body-guard; below, four scribes: in the centre, an open chest for the manuscripts.

these buildings became very strongly marked, it appears that the practical purpose which they were all originally intended to serve was never wholly forgotten. Their type was, and continued to be, the seignorial mansion, surrounded by farm-buildings, workhouses,

and stables, and situated in the midst of the land which appertained to it. For these palaces were not mere pleasure-houses, but were also the centres from which Charlemagne managed and supervised his household and the estates belonging to each royal seat. Hence when these palaces are incidentally mentioned by our authorities, not so much stress is laid upon the splendor of their furniture as upon the magnitude and the systematic and practical arrangement of the buildings specially devoted to economic purposes. These last were often of enormous size, as the number of persons living in the royal household was very great. But pains were also taken that the palaces should be splendidly furnished and adorned. For example, we learn that the one at Ingelheim was built of immense square blocks of stone, and was ornamented with columns, of which a large number had been brought from Italy. Brilliantly colored paintings, too, were not lacking. The palace at Aix-la-Chapelle must have been furnished with especial magnificence, although Angilbert's account is certainly much exaggerated. He calls the city a second Rome, whose lofty houses and mighty walls and battlements rise to the stars; and with poetic enthusiasm portrays the emperor himself as he oversees the work in person, while the countless workmen labor industriously. Some hew slender columns out of the hard rock; others build huge walls of squared stone; others still rear the foundations for a splendid edifice; while some construct marble basins into which the hot springs are to be conducted. In the middle of the spacious palace-grounds stood the building intended for the emperor's own residence, so that from it he could overlook all the houses and court-yards, and observe all that was going on. About this structure were grouped the houses in which lived the royal family and those who stood nearest to it, including the ecclesiastics of the court-church. At a greater distance stood the buildings intended for the use of the other court officials. All these houses, as well as the emperor's own, were more than one story in height; and were so arranged that he could see from his upper room all who went in and out of them. At a greater distance were situated the numerous farm-buildings, workshops, and storehouses. Among these are also enumerated stables for cattle and horses, capacious granaries, and the necessary kitchens and ovens. Between these buildings lay gardens for fruit and vegetables; and fish-ponds, too, were not lacking. In the workshops, which surrounded the palace in a wide circle, the numerous domestics of low rank were employed, the

two sexes being kept apart. The women were for the most part engaged in spinning, weaving, sewing, and other feminine occupations; while the men were busy in the court and in the fields, among the cattle and with the horses, according to the time of year.

Of the religious edifices of the Carolingian age, only one has come down to us in such condition that its original plan can be clearly made out. This is the court chapel which belonged to the palace of Aix. It was consecrated to the Virgin Mary, and now forms the nave of the cathedral of Aix. It is certainly the most important structure of this kind that Charlemagne ever built. It is essentially an imitation of the famous domed church of San Vitale in Ravenna, which was erected by the Byzantines, and the marble and other architectural materials used in building it were also brought from Ravenna.



Marginal ornamentation in a copy of the Gospels. Written in the first half of the ninth century, in the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, for the Emperor Lothair.

THE GERMAN-ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE SAXON AND SALIC EMPERORS.

(A.D. 888-1056.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORICAL SOURCES.

AS the decay of the Carolingian empire was attended by a corresponding decline in historical writing, so the era of progress which began for Germany with the rise of the Saxon emperors was accompanied by a revival of the practice of composing histories. The most important manifestations of this renewed interest were directly connected with the royal house, and had their source in Saxony, which up to that time had felt but slightly the influence of literary life. Yet the other countries, in the monasteries of which the most important annals had hitherto been composed, had their share in handing down to posterity the achievements of the new epoch. In St. Gall, which continued to be a nursery of learning of every kind, the old monastic chronicle (*Casus S. Galli*) was continued down to 973 by different writers, the record being in most cases nearly contemporary with the events themselves. In the West, in Lorraine, the annals of Regino of Pruem, the most important historical monument of the last part of the Carolingian age, were continued in copious yearly chronicles, which from 935 on (and especially after 951) are valuable because the writer made use of authorities which have been lost to us. The account which these annals give of the conflict of Otto I. with Ludolf and Conrad (951-955) is especially reliable because of the relations in which the author stood to the royal house. But our Saxon authorities are the most abundant and the richest in information; for the Saxons naturally

had a special interest in recording the exploits of the emperors who belonged to their own people.

From the middle of the tenth century on, there arose in the monasteries of Saxony numerous annals. This was particularly true of those establishments that were founded by the royal house, or had members of it at their head. Prominent among these annals are those of Quedlinburg (reaching down to 1025), which in the first part follow older chronicles of Hildesheim, but farther on become independent sources. These Quedlinburg chronicles are one of the best authorities for this period, and moreover excite a peculiar interest because they contain many reminiscences from the old heroic legends, which long survived in Saxony. In like manner in Corvei, the oldest nursery of literary pursuits in Saxony, the abbey-chronicle was regularly continued by successive generations of industrious monks down to 1148. A similar record, now extant only in fragments, was kept in the Hessian monastery of Hersfeld.

The other methods of historical composition known to the Middle Ages were also diligently and successfully cultivated in Saxony. Thus arose several works which are extremely important in their own field, and are highly characteristic of this whole period. The first place belongs to Widukind, a monk of Corvei, and his "History of Saxony" (*Res gestae Saxonicae*), in three books. This work is dedicated to the Abbess Matilda of Quedlinburg, a daughter of Otto the Great. Widukind wrote it in 967, in order to fulfil a duty toward a nation which had risen to such eminence. His historical point of view is a narrow one, but notwithstanding possesses a certain charm of its own. He is Saxon to the core, and introduces the early history of the Saxon house by complacently recurring to the old legends about the origin of his people. So, too, he narrates the deeds of Henry and Otto purely from the national standpoint of the Saxon. But this very one-sidedness gives unity, life, and naturalness to his conception of things; and it is precisely his limitations upon which the value of his unprejudiced and faithful narrative rests. He does not, like the other monkish historians, bring everything into connection with Rome, and even passes over entirely the coronation of Otto I. He can perhaps be convicted of occasional errors, but not of any intentional perversion of facts, although he may not mention occurrences disagreeable to the imperial house. His style, which he tried (not always successfully) to model after Sallust, is certainly awkward. In this he represented the primitive

state of culture which then existed in Saxony, and for that very reason his Saxon history, with its amiable candor and unaffected spontaneity, is a highly characteristic memorial of the intellectual life of that age.

Quite different in character are the historical records that we owe to the nun, Hrotsuit (Roswitha) of Gandersheim. This lady won fame also in other departments of literature, especially as the authoress of Latin comedies. She was a pupil of the Abbess Gerberga (959-1001), who was the daughter of Duke Henry of Bavaria, and niece of Emperor Otto I. Thus she was brought into close relations with the royal family. She composed a heroic poem in classical metre on the exploits of Otto the Great (*Carmen de gestis Oddonis imperatoris*), which she finished in 968, and sent to the emperor and his son with a poetical dedication; but of this work only a fragment, coming down to the year 953, has been preserved. The poetess is not very exact about the truth where plain-speaking would be disagreeable to the royal house, but evidently had excellent sources of information. Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg (1009-1019) may be mentioned, with Widukind and Hrotsuit, on account of his intellectual kinship to them, although he belongs to the end of the Saxon period, and is fitted to close the list of its historians. The original manuscript of his chronicle has been preserved; and we can therefore form a more exact idea of the way in which it originated, and was revised and supplemented, than is the case with any other literary work of the Middle Ages. In this chronicle the Saxon standpoint so far preponderates that the family of the Ottos and the Saxon bishopric of Merseburg claim the special interest of the historian. Thietmar was a son of Count Siegfried of Walbeck, and was related to the Ottos themselves. When a boy he had been educated at Quedlinburg under Emnilde, the niece of Queen Matilda. In 1002 he was made provost of the monastery of Walbeck, which had been founded by his family, and in 1009 he became bishop of Merseburg. As such he took part in the most important business of state, and hence, in many cases, could narrate events in which he had himself participated. This is especially the case in the last four books of his chronicle, which was never completed. The first three books were compiled from older sources that are still extant. For the period beginning with the death of Otto III. Thietmar's statements are of great weight, as being those of a well-informed man of the time. Moreover, he preserved an unprejudiced judgment; for

example, he reveals with great candor the fatal mistakes of the last Otto. But even for the earlier period our knowledge is much enriched by his fondness for details such as enliven history, and bring it before our eyes.

The revival of historical writing which characterizes the Saxon age as compared with the preceding period is most conspicuous in the great number of biographies, by means of which grateful scholars or assistants handed down to posterity the meritorious actions of their distinguished contemporaries. Of course these works treat mostly of ecclesiastics, particularly eminent princes of the church; and even when the life of a layman happens to form the subject, the style is the one customary in lives of bishops and saints. The predominance of the religious mode of thought, even in regard to temporal matters, which is so characteristic of the age, is seen in this field also. The biography of Queen Matilda, and that of Henry II. (by Adalbold), are almost wholly unhistorical. On the other hand, we have from this period several lives of bishops which deserve the highest praise, both for style and contents. Far the most important of these is the life of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne (953-965), the politic and energetic brother of Otto I., which was written at the suggestion of Bruno's successor, Volkmar (965-969), by Ruotger, a monk of Cologne. The work is written from an unusually realistic standpoint, and is with good reason reckoned among the biographical masterpieces of the Middle Ages. Other works of the same class are the biography of Bishop Udalrich of Augsburg (923-973), by Gerhard, a younger contemporary; that of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (992-1022), by a kindred spirit, Thankmar, which offers an abundance of material, especially for the history of civilization, and is equally remarkable for simplicity and truthfulness; that of Bishop Burkhard of Worms (1000-1025), the most learned authority of his time on ecclesiastical law; and lastly that of Abbot John of Gorze (near Metz), which gives us an instructive insight into the reform of monastic life, which took place during the second half of the tenth century, and contains John's report about the journey which he made to the court of the Calif of Cordova on a diplomatic mission with which he was charged by Otto I.

The influence of the imperial authority revived by Otto I. extended far beyond Germany, and accordingly the historians of other countries than the German furnish important contributions to our

knowledge of that great epoch. Of course this is especially true of Italy ; although at the beginning of the period under consideration, that country was still in a condition of barbarism, and did not begin to recover from it until the latter part of the tenth century, when it came under the influence of the new age which the Ottos had ushered in. The classic representative of this time of transition is Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, a partisan of Otto the Great. Liutprand had taken an active part in establishing the German power in his own country, Lombardy, and had enjoyed the special confidence of Otto the Great, in consequence of which he was placed over the see of Cremona. It was probably at Otto's suggestion that Liutprand wrote his work, "On the Exploits of Otto the Great," which treats of the history of the years 960-964, thus including the re-establishment of the imperial office and the deposition of Pope John XII. He does not present the facts in an unprejudiced and faithful manner, but in the style of an official or semi-official report ; so that many things are concealed and many more are shown in a light which is somewhat false, in order to give the course of events such an appearance as the emperor wished it to have in the eyes of the public. Even where the facts in themselves are truthfully narrated, the way in which they are grouped and their relations of cause and effect are set forth is often influenced by this semi-official character of the work. Though the author strives hard to assume an unprejudiced tone, his statements need to be controlled, and not seldom to be corrected. For an older work of Liutprand, his "History of Europe from 887 to 949," which bears the very significant secondary title of "Antapodosis" (*i. e.*, the "Book of Retribution") shows that impartiality is not one of his characteristics, at least where he has to deal with events or persons that are disagreeable to him. In this work he makes a passionate attack upon his enemies, particularly Berengarius of Ivrea, the former king of Italy, and Berengarius's wife, Willa, in whose service he had once been and for whom he had made a journey to the Byzantine court in 949. The cause of the quarrel is unknown ; but with true Italian revengefulness Liutprand ever afterward tried to injure his former patrons. He doubtless had special facilities for doing so from the fact that he was very deeply versed in the intrigues of Berengarius and his partisans, as indeed he was in all the intricate confusion of Italian affairs. Liutprand went to Germany to the court of King Otto, and there (958) in Frankfort, at the invitation of Bishop Recémond of Elvira, he began to write the history of his time. But he left it unfinished when (962) he was made bishop of Cremona and called

to an important political and diplomatic career in Italy. Hence, he unfortunately carried his history only down to the year 949. The value of the work is unequal in different parts. While Liutprand gives a good and reliable account of German affairs, which he looks upon with impartiality because he was not personally concerned in them, his statements as to matters in Italy are in most cases influenced by the purpose which he had in view, and show a certain inclination to relate offensive things, although his judgment is generally keen and apt. This work, though often of questionable authority, receives a peculiar charm from the vividness with which it portrays the civilization of the time, and brings before us the life and thought of the Italians of the tenth century.

Finally, two more writers belong in this category, both of them being ecclesiastics of Lorraine. Though extraordinarily different from one another in disposition and in merit, they are of special importance for the light which they throw on the relations between the French and Germans. Richer, a monk of St. Remy, near Rheims, a man of broad and thorough scholarship, composed at the suggestion of Gerbert "Histories" in four books, extending down to 998. He soon abandoned the annalistic form which he had given the work at the outset, and was misled by the striving after artistic finish and elegance of style into the greatest inaccuracies, and occasionally even into deliberate inventions. This is particularly the case where his national vanity comes into play and tries to glorify the French at the expense of the Germans, so that one ought to use his narrative only with the utmost caution. In the earlier part of his work he follows older chronicles of Rheims, while in the latter portion he depends chiefly on his own experience and observation. On the other hand, Flodoard, an ecclesiastic of Rheims, from whom we have a "History of Rheims" (*Historia Remensis*), coming down to 918, and based upon careful use of original records, and also "Annals" for the years 949-966, is one of the best and most trustworthy writers of the period. His knowledge of affairs in Lorraine and among the West Franks, which is based on what he had himself seen, and upon reliable accounts from others, is invaluable to us.

Among the sources for this period, of which we have mentioned above only the most important, are also to be reckoned the numerous public documents and letters. Of the latter, only the letters of Gerbert (afterward Pope Sylvester II.) can receive special notice here.

For the first half of the Salic period we are dependent in part upon the same sources. Here belong the latter portions of the Annals of Quedlinburg and Hildesheim and of the "Greater Annals" of St. Gall. Moreover, the Bavarian monastery of Niederaltaich furnishes important annals for the period in question. They were long known only from the copious fragments of them which had passed into other chronicles, and were once acutely reconstructed from those fragments by W. von Giesebrecht; but a copy of them was afterward discovered which came from among the papers left by Aventin, the Bavarian historian. They give much independent information, especially from the beginning of the Salic period onwards. Remnants of lost Saxon annals, which in those days were composed very soon after the events occurred, are contained in the so-called "Saxon An-nalist" (*Annalista Saxo*), and the Magdeburg Chronicle.

Conrad II. found an excellent biographer in Wipo, a priest and chaplain. That Burgundy was Wipo's native country is probable from the special attention which he devotes to the affairs of that land; and he mentions the bishop of Lausanne, a Burgundian prince of the church, as one of his informants. Wipo was perhaps one of the tutors of Henry III., and owes his knowledge on many points to his own observation during his temporary stay at court; but in many matters he was insufficiently informed. His "Life of Conrad II.," which he wrote for Henry III., is characterized by clearness and sobriety of tone and a fair degree of political insight, but nowhere rises to the level of a great historical work. He purposed to write also a history of Henry III., to which the life of Conrad was probably intended to serve as introduction, but never carried out the plan. The only other works of Wipo which are extant are poetical, viz., the so-called "Tetralogus," a congratulatory poem addressed to Henry III. on his mounting the throne, and a collection of metrical maxims entitled "Proverbs" (*Pro-verbia*). For the time of Henry III. we have (to omit many less important works) an authority of the first rank in the Chronicle of the monk Hermann of Reichenau. This remarkable man, who was a son of the Swabian Count Wolfrad, suffered from a life-long illness, being confined to his chair by lameness. He received an excellent education in the monastery of Reichenau, which was famed as a nursery of learning. He then became a monk there, and taught for many years with great success. He was also famous as a musician and a poet. In his "Chronicle" he tried at the beginning to give a comprehensive view of the whole history of the world, and in doing so used his copious author-

ities with caution and taste. He took special pains to restore a good chronological arrangement with success. He did not, however, rise to a conception of history as one great whole, or recognize any idea pervading and controlling the course of events. As he comes nearer to his own time his account becomes more and more detailed; so that his history of the time of Henry III., from 1039 down to his own death (which took place September 24, 1054), has almost the precision of a diary.

The biographies of contemporaries of Henry III. are very numerous, and the remarks that have already been made about this whole class of sources apply to them also. The life of Odilo, the fifth bishop of Cluny (994-1048), and that of Pope Leo IX., which was written by Wibert, a well-informed archdeacon of the church at Liège, deserve special mention because of the importance of the persons of whom they treat.

CHAPTER X.

THE RISE OF THE SAXON POWER, AND THE FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN MONARCHY BY HENRY I.

(A. D. 889-936.)

THE period of German history covered by this chapter presents two salient features,—the overthrow of the idea of a centralized royal power supported by ecclesiastical influence, and the transfer of the leadership of Germany from the partially Romanized Franks to the Saxons.

The idea of the religious unity of the Romance and Germanic nations, which Charlemagne had enforced as a motive to political union, had only by slow degrees become limited to its proper sphere of action. Just in the times of their greatest distress the peoples that had once been united in the Carolingian empire had looked to this idea for aid. Yet the temporary restoration of the empire under the youngest son of Louis the German was brought about by a series of accidents rather than required by an inward necessity, and hence could not accomplish what had been hoped from it. Instead of giving protection abroad and restoring peace at home, it increased the distress, and proved only a hindrance to the peoples who were able and willing to defend themselves. Hence the dissolution of the empire was now recognized as the foremost requisite to a more prosperous future. It is a significant and instructive fact that it was the East Frankish tribes, which were younger and more vigorous than the rest and had been much less affected by the Romanizing influence of the church, that assumed the leadership in the new movement and rescued themselves by a resolute self-defence. Among the East Franks themselves, who now became permanently separated from the West Frankish monarchy, the same process was repeated in the course of a few decades. The youngest of their tribes, which was the most powerful because it had retained the ancient German spirit and institutions to a greater degree than the rest, having been affected only superficially by the Romanizing influence of the church, assumed, with youthful audacity, the leadership of the German nation in process of formation. As we

have seen, while the Carolingian empire was falling into decay, the centre of power was transferred farther and farther toward the east, and the direction of affairs passed into the hands of the German peoples. A similar change occurred among the Germans themselves during the generation that followed the dethronement of Charles the Fat. The Saxons, who only a hundred years before had been Christianized and united to the empire by force of arms, now took the foremost place instead of the Franks.

The renunciation of Charles the Fat by the German peoples completed what the treaties of Verdun and Meersen had begun. It led to a permanent separation of the parts of the Carolingian empire, which up to that time had persistently striven to keep together. This fact gave the kingdom of Arnulf of Carinthia (888-899) from the very outset a well-defined character of its own, which distinguished it from its predecessors. It was created by the German peoples by means of an act of self-defence, and was confined to them, no attempt being made at establishing a universal monarchy; but it included all the German countries except Lorraine, which at first stood aloof, and at last drew even that land to itself. Hence, in contrast to the Romance kingdom of the West Franks, and to the Slavs and Northmen who were advancing from the east and north, Arnulf's kingdom was based upon the existence of one undivided nation, and was intended to provide and maintain security abroad and peace at home for the tribes belonging to that nation. But for the very reason that it sought to combine the German peoples, for common defence, against the dangers that threatened them, it could allow each one of them to retain as much independence as was consistent with the fulfilment of this mission. Hence, from the very outset the kingdom was not very firmly bound together. The nature of Arnulf's position at the head of the German peoples may be defined by calling him their common war-duke (*Herzog*), and in that way the purely secular and strongly military character of his sovereignty is well expressed (Fig. 52). To this corresponds also the course which Arnulf's history took, and the transformation which the position of his duchy-kingdom experienced under the influence of his altered policy. He was successful as long as he kept in mind the origin of his royalty and the correspondingly limited nature of his authority. But when he went beyond these bounds, and tried with the aid of the church to compel the Germans against their will to go back and to accept the principle of a hereditary universal monarchy like the Carolin-

gian, he risked all that he had gained, and disturbed even the order which he had restored in the interior of the realm.

Arnulf's elevation to the throne had not been entirely free from opposition. The people of Lorraine withheld their submission, but in ambiguous terms; while the Alamanni, who were led by the partisans of Bernhard, the son of Charles the Fat, openly refused obedience to the king. Only Arnulf's prompt interference hindered the revolt from breaking out. Bernhard escaped the impending retribution by flight, and his accomplices were punished by the confiscation of their property. But the nobles of Alamannia did not readily forget Arnulf's conduct. Not until the death of Bernhard (who was put out of the way by the Rhaetian Count Rudolf, doubtless with Arnulf's knowledge) did they gradually return to their allegiance. Elsewhere, too, Arnulf's authority was established



FIG. 52. — Coins of Arnulf of Carinthia.

1. Obv.: Cross, with four globes. Legend: † ARNOLPVS RE. Rev.: Church. Legend: MOCONCIAE CIVIT.
2. Obv.: A cross, with the letters A R X P disposed about it, and three globes at the centre. Legend: SA COLONIA. Rev.: A cross with the letters T and P. Legend: RNA. L. IECIO. (From Cappe.)

only insecurely at first. Saxony remained virtually independent under the powerful Count Ludolf, who gradually raised himself to the position of a duke. In the southeast the Moravians, under the ambitious Svatopluk, threw off the Frankish yoke, and extended their conquests in all directions. But just at this point Arnulf won a victory which gave his kingdom a firm basis, and led to an improvement in the condition of German affairs. He overtook a vast host of the northern sea-robbers, which had been pillaging and plundering far and wide, at Louvain, where they took up an almost inaccessible position. They had assembled in a camp protected by wooden and earthen intrenchments, and shielded on one side by the stream of the Dyle and on the other by a low marsh, thinking that there the heavy cavalry of the Franks could not reach them. But Arnulf with prompt decision ordered his men to dismount, and stormed the camp. In a bloody hand-to-hand encounter he drove

the Northmen toward the other side and out of the camp, where thousands of them perished in the Dyle. In panic-stricken flight the defeated Northmen hastened to their ships, and sailed back to their native land. After this glorious day (November 1, 891), which quite threw into the shade the much-lauded victory of Louis III., the young West-Frankish king, at Saucourt (see p. 156), the people of the German coast breathed freely once more; for the Northmen (Fig. 53), after this severe lesson, preferred to seek booty more safely elsewhere. They now left the East-Frankish kingdom undisturbed, and fell with double fury upon the West-



FIG. 53. — Norman Soldiers. From a miniature in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. (Strutt.)

Franks, and the Saxons of England. But Arnulf's reputation was established and heightened by this victory. He had performed the task which the nation had set him by raising him to the throne.

In the southeast, moreover, the Moravians ceased to be formidable after the death of Svatopluk in 894. But while Arnulf was thus vigorously fulfilling his kingly mission abroad, he unwisely undermined his own power within the kingdom by striving more and more openly to enlarge his prerogatives, and transform his elective monarchy into a hereditary one. Yet he had not even a legitimate child, but only two illegitimate sons, Zwentibold (Fig. 54) and Rastolf. As early as June of 889, at an imperial assembly in

Forchheim, he demanded that Zwentibold should be designated as his successor, and was promised that this should be done if his wife Ota should not bear him another son. Arnulf now prepared for the realization of his plan by making Zwentibold king of Lorraine; but the latter made many enemies there by his arbitrary rule, and played into the hands of his father's enemies in the other parts of the realm by foolishly joining in the dispute which broke out in the West-Frankish kingdom between Odo (Eudes) the defender of Paris against the Northmen, who had been raised to the throne, and Charles the Simple, the lawful heir of the Carolingians. Thus Arnulf, by a policy which was inconsistent with the origin and character of his power, estranged from himself those very classes to which he owed his elevation to the throne, and without which it was difficult, if not impossible, for him to maintain his position. But he joined himself all the more closely to the church, which had not supported, or even approved, the revolution of 887, but had deplored



FIG. 54.—Coin of Zwentibold, king of Lorraine. Legend. Obv.: ZVINDEBAD REX †. Rev.: CAMARACVS CIVIS †. (From Lelewel.)

it as injurious to its own interests. But at all events it was out of the question to found a hereditary monarchy without the aid of the church, even after Arnulf's wife Ota had borne a son, Louis the Child, in 893. Thus the strife which had shaken the Frankish empire at the close of the Carolingian age was renewed.

In Italy, Berengarius of Friuli and Guido of Spoleto were still contending for the supremacy. The latter had already gained the imperial crown, and both Berengarius and the pope besought aid against him. In the early part of 894 Arnulf marched toward the south, conquered and destroyed Bergamo, and received at Pavia the homage of most of the Lombard nobles. But when he attempted to advance farther westward, he was checked in the valley of Aosta by a superior force of the enemy, who skilfully took advantage of the position, and was so hard pressed that he was glad to escape with his force, by a forced march across the mountains, and retreat toward the north. After his return Arnulf succeeded (894) in having

Louis the Child elected king, and the latter received the homage of the nobles. In order to accomplish still more Arnulf formed a close league with the church, which gained new power thereby. A synod which was held in Tribur at the same time with an imperial assembly lauded Arnulf (against whom the bishops had at first implored Heaven for protection), as God's chosen instrument, to whom the church owed the restoration of its honor. It adopted a series of decrees which showed that the clergy deemed themselves once more masters of the situation, and expected that the most sweeping claims would be conceded them. The civil authority was made subservient to the church in a greater degree than ever before, except in the times of Louis the Pious. The counts, who were officers of the crown, were required to attend on the days when the bishops sat in judgment, to take measures of special severity against those who



FIG. 55. — Silver coin of Arnulf and Pope Stephen VI. Obv.: Monogram for Rome. Legend: † ARNOLFVS MP (Imperator). Rev.: Monogram for Stephanus: Legend: † SCS PETRVS. Size of original. (Berlin.)

injured ecclesiastics, and to treat all persons who then proved refractory as outside the pale of the law.

One might well believe that a formal bargain had been made between the church and King Arnulf, and that these concessions were the price paid in advance, by which certain definite return services of the church to the king were to be purchased. Moreover, at that time Arnulf already stood in more intimate relations to the Holy See, as well as to the German church. He had been secretly called in by Pope Formosus (891–896), who was striving to throw off the heavy yoke of the ducal house of Spoleto, although he had been obliged to crown Guido's son, Lambert, king. Arnulf drove Lambert from Rome, and was crowned emperor by Formosus (February 22, 896), but was soon after seized by severe illness and compelled to return home in haste.

The imperial crown, desecrated by the feuds of the last few years, meant even a greater diminution of Arnulf's authority, which already had been severely shaken; for it made him appear the pur-

chased bondsman and vassal of the church (Fig. 55), and excited the discontented East-Frankish nobles to fiercer opposition. The latter in their resentment were already resorting to the most questionable expedients; for the charge of adultery which was brought at this time against the Empress Ota must have come from them. But their purpose of proving the young king Louis a bastard, and excluding him from the throne, was frustrated by the oath which Ota took that she was innocent. Naturally, however, such experiences discouraged and humiliated the king, whose strength was already broken, even without these troubles. Besides, new misfortunes burst upon the kingdom, both in the east and the west. In the east the Hungarians, who were soon to become such a fearful scourge, appeared for the first time. In Lorraine, Count Reginar, a popular noble, revolted against Zwentibold, and intrigued with the



FIG. 56.—Coins of Louis the Child. 1. Obv.: Cross with four globes. Legend: †HHHDOIVVICV RE†. Rev.: Church. Legend: MOGONCIAE CIVIT †. 2. Obv.: Cross. Legend: †NHLVHIOVVIC PIVS. Rev.: SA LO MON, perhaps the name of the cleric charged by the king with minting this coin. (From Cappe.)

West Franks. Against all these hostile forces the church could not render Arnulf and his family any aid or protection. His entire policy proved to be mistaken and unsuccessful. The emperor succumbed to these blows of fortune. In the summer of 899 he suffered a stroke of paralysis; and in the early part of December of the same year he died at Ratisbon, weighed down by anxiety and care about the future of the realm and of his own house.

The future that then lay before Germany was indeed a cheerless one, more cheerless even than in the days of the weak and unscrupulous Charles the Fat. The new king, Louis the Child, who reigned from 899 to 911 (Fig. 56) was a boy of six; the state was intrusted to a board of regents composed of bishops; while the secular nobility, to whom Arnulf owed his throne, were excluded from all share in the government. Some members of the regency, in spite of their ecclesiastical office, kept the welfare of the whole state in view,

and did their best to promote it. Prominent among these was Bishop Adalbert of Augsburg (886-909), a noble man, distinguished for piety, learning, and unselfishness. The education of the young king was intrusted to him. But in political matters the chief voice apparently belonged to Archbishop Hatto of Mayence (891-913), to whom the popular belief, which has survived in tradition, chiefly attributed the misery of that time. He was well seconded by two intriguing and contentious brothers of noble birth, — Waldo, Abbot of Kempten and Bishop of Freising (899-908); and Solomon, who held the lucrative abbacy of St. Gall and the wealthy see of Constance (891-920).

In time of peace, such a government might perhaps have maintained order, and preserved its own dignity. But at that time the principal duties which were to be performed by the government were military. What the empire most needed was an able general, who could call forth the military qualities of the German peoples, and arm them to unite in repelling the enemies who were assailing them from every quarter — the Danes, the Sorbs on the Elbe, the Moravians, and above all, the terrible Hungarians. After migrating from the interior of Asia into the lowlands of eastern Europe, the Magyar horsemen had occupied at first the wide steppes northwest of the Black Sea. Issuing from these plains, they had for years been scourging with their raids the neighboring Russians and Bulgarians, and even the Moravians and Greeks. As early as 894 they invaded the German districts on the Danube. They were turned aside once more, however; for the Greeks summoned them to their aid against the Bulgarians. But the latter called in the savage people of the Petchenegs, which took possession of the country previously occupied by the Magyars, and so blocked their return to Asia. Thus the Magyars, or as the Germans, following the example of the Slavs, called them, the Hungarians (*Ungarn*), were compelled to seek new homes. They turned their course westward, crossed the Carpathians, descended into the plain of the Danube and Theiss, and were bursting into Upper Italy and ravaging the country, when the tidings of the death of the valiant Arnulf made Germany appear to them an easy prey. Bavaria and Moravia ceased their bitter strife, and united against the common enemy, but in vain. The foe pressed deeper into the heart of the empire at every new invasion. In 906 the Hungarians were already devastating Saxony; in 907 Duke Luitpold of Bavaria fell in battle against them; and his succes-

sor, Duke Arnulf, in his extremity purchased peace. The following year they made terrible havoc in Saxony.

It seemed as if Germany were destined to meet with a worse fate at the hands of the barbarian hordes of the Hungarians than the West-Frankish kingdom had experienced at the hands of the Northmen. For the wild anarchy arising from the bitter struggle between the bishops and the secular nobility was tearing the empire asunder, and plunging all the citizens into civil war; and hence defence was impossible. The union of the different peoples in one empire brought no advantage whatever, and hindered the different parts of the realm from maintaining their own welfare. Under the pressure of the calamity which the empire could not avert, the tribes now united in military leagues of considerable size, and, without troubling themselves about the royalty, tried to defend themselves under their own native leaders against the advancing enemies. This led to the formation of principalities of considerable size, of which the heads of the tribes, who had attained permanent command of the forces, became rulers with the title of dukes (*Herzöge*). The crown could not hinder a growth which it had already been obliged to tolerate here and there, and the springs of which not even Charlemagne had been able to destroy. The opposition of the bishops, who saw their own special privileges endangered by these military powers, was very violent. This fact increased the hostility between the bishops and the lay nobility. The latter in the various tribal districts flocked about the dukes, regarding them as the champions of their interests against the hierarchy as well as against other foes. Of course, however, some, even of the secular nobles, sided with the bishops for personal reasons or for the sake of outward advantages, and tried to rise to power through the aid and favor of the church.

Although the formation of the different tribal dukedoms followed the same general lines, it differed in details according to the special circumstances of each case. It is least strongly marked in the country of the Franks, the population of which, being made up of different elements, had no definite tribal character, and therefore had not attained to that powerful tribal feeling which alone could give the ducal office its full significance. Hence, among the Franks the dukedom became the subject of bitter strife between two powerful families of the nobility, the Babenbergs and the Conradines. The latter, thanks to the energetic aid of the regents, finally prevailed and consigned their opponents to the scaffold (908). On the other hand, in Saxony, which country was

then pursuing its own course without being influenced by the empire, the ducal power arose out of the margraviate of the rich and powerful house of the Ludolfings, which there assumed the prerogatives that properly belonged to royalty alone. The necessity of strict military government on account of the continued border-war against the Slavs also contributed much to the growth of the dukedom. In like manner the almost uninterrupted conflict with the Moravians and later with the Hungarians aided the formation of a tribal duchy in Bavaria. Since the time of Louis the German this had been the leading country of the East Frankish empire, and here, therefore, no such antagonism to the crown was felt as existed in Saxony. On the other hand, such an antagonism exerted a very strong influence in Alamannia. The nobility of that country had already been enemies to Arnulf. Their leader, Margrave Burkhard, in the days of Louis the Child, raised himself first to be prince of the Alamanni and then to be duke, in spite of the violent opposition of the bishops, particularly Salomon III. of Constance. After his death by violence in 911, the counts palatine Erchanger and Berthold gradually won for themselves the ducal prerogatives. In Lorraine, after the death of King Zwentibold in 900, his crafty antagonist, Count Reginar, won the authority of a duke in all but the name, and successfully defended himself against the regency.

The ducal power arose in different ways according to the locality; and hence in the territories of the different tribes it differed in character and extent, having greater power in one region, and less in another. But in general the dukedom, as one might expect from its military character and the requirements which were made of it by those under its protection, was of greater importance (and consequently of greater power) in the border regions, which depended upon it for their defence. In Bavaria, Swabia, and Saxony it appears in a far more pronounced form than in the Frankish territory, and in Lorraine. In the three countries first mentioned, even the church was finally compelled to submit to it, and expressed this submission by acknowledging the right of the dukes to appoint bishops in their respective tribal domains. Yet even in these times the German peoples remained conscious of their common nationality, and there was never any real danger that the empire would be broken up into five separate states. The example of Reginar of Lorraine found no imitators. The difficulty of the crisis which the development of the German people encountered at this time, lay not so much in the lack of a firmer union between the five peoples, or of

a consciousness that they belonged to one nation, as in the deadly enmity between the clergy and the lay nobles. Only by co-operating with each other could these two classes maintain order in church and state, and carry on the social and economic development of the nation. Their hostility was not only due to the mistaken policy of King Arnulf, and the errors of the bishops who were regents in the time of Louis the Child, but was also the natural result of the whole process of development which church and state had passed through in their relations to one another, from the days of Louis the Pious down to Arnulf's coronation. The hierarchical tendency under Louis the Pious had interrupted and disturbed the growth of the Carolingian state, and in the conflicts of the next few decades had at times gained in strength, and at times been driven into the background. But in the East-Frankish kingdom at the beginning of the tenth century this tendency had gained a complete victory, inasmuch as the national German monarchy that the lay nobility had created by dethroning Charles the Fat had at last fallen entirely into the hands of the church, and was being wilfully abused by the regents for their own private advantage.

But both parties soon perceived the momentous consequences of this dissension, and the rapid decay of the state convinced them that a change was necessary. This fact explains the somewhat surprising event which took place after King Louis died in 911 at the age of only eighteen years. Bitter foes peacefully assembled in order to give the realm a new king, who might be expected to restore peace at home and repel the enemy abroad. People thought that Otto, the duke of Saxony, would best meet these requirements; and he was offered the crown, although he had been at feud for many years with Hatto of Mayence. But he declined the honor, assigning his advanced age as an excuse. So in November of 911 at Forchheim the assembled nobles chose Duke Conrad of Franconia for their king. Thus the ancient German right of election, which Arnulf, although he himself owed his crown to it, had purposely suppressed in favor of the right of descent, was revived. To be sure, Conrad was related on his mother's side to the Carolingians; but this fact had nothing to do with his being chosen. What decided the election was his character, which the nobles believed to possess those qualities that the empire needed in its supreme ruler. Hence the choice was determined from the temporal point of view, although this time the bishops did not stand aloof, as they had done

at the election of Arnulf. They gave the newly chosen monarch the consecration of the church by anointing and crowning him, and thereby confirmed their reconciliation with their late opponents, the secular nobles. The only remaining question was whether this reconciliation would really lead the two classes to act in unison for the welfare of the realm.

In the reign of Conrad I. of Franconia, who ruled from 911 to 918 (Fig. 57), we may see the same inconsistent policy which destroyed the effect of Arnulf's early successes. Like Arnulf, Conrad at first relied mainly on the support of the lay nobles, and accordingly was on good terms with the dukes. Conrad married the widow of Duke Luitpold of Bavaria, a sister of Berthold and Erchanger, the Swabian messengers of the exchequer, and thus gained powerful relatives in this quarter, and became the step-father



FIG. 57. — Coins of Conrad I. (From Cappe.)

1. Obv. : Cross with four globes. Legend : † VNRAVVS RE.
Rev. : Church. Legend : MOGVNTIA CIVIT.
2. Obv. : In field REX. Legend : CVNCADV.
Rev. : Cross with four globes. Legend : Vir Dun I. . . .

of Arnulf, the young Duke of Bavaria. But on the renewal of the strife between the dukes and the church, both Conrad and Arnulf sided with the latter. In Swabia Conrad supported the ambitious Salomon III. of Constance against Erchanger and Berthold, and thus foolishly undermined his own power. Worse still, when Henry, son of Duke Otto of Saxony, got into a dispute after his father's death in 912 with Hatto's successor, Archbishop Heriger of Mayence (913–927), about the tribute of the Thuringian territories, Conrad again sided with the demands of the hierarchy. Thus he disowned the secular origin of his own authority, and alienated the very classes without the aid of which he could not hope to maintain it. Besides, the clergy were no longer at harmony ; the ecclesiastics of Saxony, who had the interests of their people deeply at heart, clung to Duke Henry and renounced the king and his allies. The Saxon bishops also did not appear at the synod which was held in September of 916 at Hohenaltheim in the Ries. This synod marked a

further step in the subjection of the state to the church. Borrowing the exact words of the decretals of Pseudo-Isidore, it issued a series of ordinances for the defence of the church and its domains against the lay nobles, and threatened those who should violate these regulations with the severest ecclesiastical penalties. Such penalties were also to be inflicted for treason against the king, while on the other hand the clergy were exempted from the ordinary jurisdiction of the secular courts. Thus the crown and the bishops once more united in an offensive and defensive league in opposition to the whole body of laymen and to that portion of the clergy that remained faithful to the national interests. On the strength of these measures Erchanger and Berthold were required under penalty of excommunication to redress the grievances of Salomon of Constance. Similar warnings were issued to Duke Henry and the Saxon bishops in behalf of the Archbishop of Mayence. Erchanger and Berthold refused to obey, and the king himself took the field against them; they were conquered, and perished by the executioner's axe. But even then Conrad did not obtain possession of Alamannia, for the lay nobles found a successful leader in Burkhard the younger, the son of the former duke of the same name, who assumed the title that had been held by his father. Under these circumstances Conrad did not even attempt to compel the Saxons to obey him. For the disorder within the empire and the pressure from without were both increasing. The inroads of the Hungarians were renewed, and Bavaria in particular suffered severely from them. The young Duke Arnulf by his valiant resistance to this dread foe gained military glory and strengthened his own position, while his stepfather's campaign against the Magyars ended ingloriously.

This train of calamities, for which he was himself to blame, broke the strength of King Conrad, but at the same time revealed to him, although too late, the errors of his policy. He had obstinately ignored the results of the development through which Germany had passed in the last thirty years, that he might force the subsequent growth of the German state to follow un-German lines and might regulate it according to the views of the Roman church. Yet when he had returned sick from his expedition against the Hungarians and felt his end approaching, he found courage to acknowledge his mistake, and possessed self-control enough to render it impossible for his successors to pursue the same mischievous course. For this he certainly deserves all praise. When at the point of death he intrusted the royal insignia to his brother Eberhard, who had succeeded him as duke of

Franconia, with orders to deliver them to Duke Henry of Saxony. By this action he recommended Henry, his unconquered adversary, the successful opponent of the church, to be his successor, and thus declared unequivocally that only from a policy contrary to that which he himself had pursued could the salvation of the empire be expected. Conrad died on December 23, 918. His dying act was the greatest service that he rendered to Germany, and he atoned for his own errors by the political programme which he announced for the future. Only by the removal of the antagonism between the Franks and the Saxons, which he himself had unwisely fostered, could the integrity of the empire be made secure against foreign enemies. Only by sincere reconciliation and self-sacrificing co-operation of the clergy with the lay nobility could peace be restored within the realm and a permanent political system be created.

Thus began a momentous change. The political will and testament of Conrad I. meant nothing less than the retirement of the Frankish people from the leadership of the German nation, which it had held for more than four hundred years. Its place was taken by that people which had been united to the empire last of all, and only after a violent resistance, and in which even Christianity itself had been established only a little more than a century. The Teutonism of the Franks, which had been powerfully affected by the Romance element, could not resist forever the overwhelming influence of the Roman church; and since the time of Louis the Pious the Franks had been in danger of allowing that influence to control their political and social system, and thus of completely forfeiting their national character. But a national reaction now took place through the influence of the Saxons, who were still thoroughly German, and had not been affected by the disintegrating and weakening influences of the Romanizing church and of feudalism. While in other countries the freedom of the common citizen had in many cases disappeared, and been replaced by various conditions of feudal dependence, in Saxony the liberty of the people still formed the basis of the whole system of government. Accordingly the Saxons had also preserved their ancient strength and military excellence, owing in part to the uninterrupted training which they had received in their wars with the Danes and Slavs. In these wars, although the Saxons had never had a king of their own, the family in which Conrad hoped to find a saviour for the empire had gradually risen to a commanding position. The rich ancestral

estates of the Ludolfings were situated on the Lippe. They had conducted the border-war against the Slavs on the Elbe, and thus received at first the authority of margrave, which they then raised to that of duke. They also increased their possessions, and acquired large estates near the slopes of the Harz Mountains. They managed these carefully after the manner of Charlemagne, and were aided in doing so by remarkable women, in whom this family abounded even in subsequent times. The position of honor and influence which these women occupied is a further proof that the Saxons still retained their real Teutonic character. The placing of this people and this family at the head of the realm meant that the tendency toward the establishment of a universal monarchy under the control of the church was to be relinquished. The immediate result was a limitation of the ecclesiastical authority, which had become excessive; and the recognition of the fact that the lay nobility stood at the head of the kingdom. Thus the lines which the policy of the new king was to follow were fully determined from the outset.

In April of 919, the Saxons and Franks met at the border of their domains, not far from Fritzlar. As Conrad had recommended,



FIG. 58. — Royal Seal of Henry I. Reduced. From an impression in the British Museum.

Eberhard of Franconia proposed the name of Duke Henry of Saxony for king (Fig. 58). All shouted approval. Even the bishops raised no opposition; nay, Archbishop Heriger of Mayence, who under Conrad had been Henry's relentless opponent, himself offered to give the newly chosen sovereign the consecration of the church by anointing and crowning him. This offer, however, was refused, not from modesty, but because Henry did not wish to undergo any obligation toward the church, or to owe the bishops any favors.

The subservience of the German state to the church was now to have an end. The policy of the first Saxon king is characterized by a sober and practical tone, and in this lay its greatness and its merit. It was only his subsequent successes, and the exploits which they enabled his successors to perform, that caused the importance of his reign to be fully appreciated.

At the time of his elevation to the throne, Henry I. (919-936) was in the prime of life (Fig. 59); probably he had recently finished

his fortieth year. His first wife was Hatheburg, the daughter of the wealthy Count Erwin of Merseburg, who had lost her first husband. This marriage, however, was afterwards dissolved by order of the church, because Hatheburg, at the beginning of her widowhood, had vowed to take the veil. Hence Henry's son by her, Thankmar, was regarded as illegitimate, and was excluded from inheriting his father's possessions. In 909 Henry brought home as his bride Matilda, the daughter of Count Dietrich (Theodoric), who was descended from Widukind. The king, before his election, had a son by her, who was named after his grandfather, Otto. Queen Matilda begins the series of noble female characters belonging to the Saxon house. She was energetic, and full of interest in political matters as well as in other things.

Henry I. had been elected only by the Franks and Saxons; and consequently his royal authority was at first confined within



FIG. 59. — Coins of Henry I.

1. Obv.: in field REX. Legend: HENRICVS. Rev.: Cross with globes. Legend: † . . . DVNV.
2. Obv.: Cross. Legend: HEINRICVS REX. Rev.: In the field ARGENTINA CIVITS, in two lines, with a C above, a globe between the lines, and an S below.

somewhat narrow limits. For, as a matter of course, Duke Eberhard retained all the rights that had previously belonged to the Frankish duke; and the other tribal chiefs had to be treated in like manner if they acknowledged the validity of Henry's election. Arnulf of Bavaria did not do homage to the king until 921, retaining even then the power of appointing bishops in his duchy. His power was so great that Henry could not have afforded to come into collision with him. Lorraine was finally (925) firmly reunited to the East-Frankish realm; its duke, Gisibert, wedded King Henry's daughter, Gerberga.

Recognizing the existing conditions, which he was not strong enough to alter, the Saxon king was content at first to confine his royal power to a narrow sphere of operation. Of any unity of the realm there was scarcely even the idea. Each people went its own way. But, when compared with the state of things that had pre-

ceded, it was, at all events, a gain that the tribes dwelt peacefully side by side, and were able and willing to act in common in case of need. How much respect was shown for the dukes, as the possessors of independent sovereignties, is manifest from the fact that during his whole reign Henry never again set foot in Bavaria and Swabia, the countries of the two most independent, after he received their homage. The kingdom was, in fact, nothing more than a loose alliance of the five peoples, at the head of which stood the Duke of Saxony, *primus inter pares*, with no advantage over the other dukes except his priority in rank. But the monarchy was thus saved from a division into five separate states, such as seemed to be impending toward the close of Conrad's reign.

And how could it have been Henry's duty to try to accomplish more than this when, as it were, the ground was trembling beneath him, and even Saxony, the basis of his power, was lost for a time? In 924 that country was visited by a fearful invasion of the Hungarians, to which it helplessly succumbed, having no cities or fortified places in which the population could take refuge. Henry himself was obliged to seek safety in the royal palace of Werla. Fortunately a Hungarian chief of high rank fell into the hands of the Saxons; and by surrendering him, and paying a yearly tribute, Henry purchased from the Hungarians a truce for the next nine years, during which they were not to set foot in Saxony. The other countries of his realm he was forced to abandon to their own resources. South Germany in particular suffered severely at this time from the barbarian hordes, which poured with double fury over Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine.

Under the protection of this truce, which he had purchased by the payment of tribute, Henry commenced the reorganization of Saxony. Although his activities in this field were limited to his duchy, yet the work which he accomplished there afterwards became the model which was followed in organizing the other parts of the kingdom. But in contrast to the legendary accounts of later times, which represent Henry as the founder of cities, and the inventor of the tournament, the sources which go back more nearly to his own time give only a vague idea of his doings in Saxony. This one thing, however, can be shown from them with certainty, — that Henry's work, though in part creative, consisted chiefly in the revival of old customs which had gradually fallen out of use. The statement that it was Henry who first introduced cavalry service among the Saxons

is incorrect; for according to Saxon law the horse belonged to the '*Heergewäte*' of the freeman; i.e., to the regular components of his hereditament. But up to this time the Saxons knew only how to fight separately on horseback; while the Hungarians were irresistible because they charged in close order, and crushed their opponents by the weight of their dense masses. Henry perceived this advantage of the enemy, and taught his Saxon countrymen this new method of cavalry-fighting, which necessitated not merely another kind of training for the individual soldier, but also frequent and careful drilling of the newly formed squadrons. This fact explains how men of later times, misunderstanding the case, represented the king as the inventor of the knightly exercise of the tournament.

But to prepare the Saxon people for defence, still further measures were necessary. In Saxony, as in all parts of the kingdom, the custom of calling out all the free citizens for military service (*Heerbann*) had fallen into disuse. In order to escape it, many free persons had purposely given up their freedom by turning over their lands to churches and monasteries, or to lay nobles, so as to receive them back as a loan, to be paid for in rent and service, but exempt from the obligation to military duty, which was attached to free property in land. Even the free citizens were constantly finding new pretexts to escape the duty which the German had once regarded it as his highest privilege to fulfil. Toward the end of the Carolingian period, even the threat of capital punishment was, it is said, insufficient to check this abuse. Finally, the last Hungarian inroad had shown the indispensability of fortified places of refuge, to which the population of the plains could retire with their movable property in time of invasion. Such places were, to all intents and purposes, entirely lacking in Saxony. This difficulty Henry met by a series of ordinances, which are not entirely clear in their details, though there can be no doubt of their general tenor. He ordained that the larger settlements that already existed, such as monasteries, episcopal seats, and spots where the people of the surrounding districts were in the habit of meeting to trade, should be surrounded with walls of a certain height, and be protected by moats drawn at a specified distance in front of the walls. The royal residences and soccage-farms were fortified with especial care. Thus there soon arose in Saxony a large number of strongholds, which could not only receive the fleeing population of the neighborhood, but could also resist the attacks of an enemy unskilled in the art of besieging. Henry also decreed that

in every such place one-ninth of its people should always remain as a garrison; while the rest should furnish a fixed share of the produce of their labor in the fields outside, and this share should be stored up within the stronghold to support the garrison and the fugitives in case of need. This measure, however, must have applied at first only to the king's domain-lands and their occupants, but may have been imitated elsewhere. Leaving their defensive value out of the question, these ordinances obtained great importance in the history of Saxon civilization from the further provision that at these new strongholds festive assemblies, yearly fairs, etc., should be held. Thus they became centres of social intercourse and of commerce; henceforth tradesmen preferred to settle in them, and so they gradually took on the character of cities. It may be that in this very point Henry imitated the example that had been set him by the Anglo-Saxon king, Edward I. Such a connection between the two monarchs cannot be surprising; for in 929 Henry's eldest son, Otto, married Edward's daughter, Edith. But the determination to utilize even the highwaymen and robbers for the defence of the country is peculiar to Henry. He established a settlement of these people, under the name of the 'Legion of Merseburg,' on the boundary, to defend it against the Wends.

These reforms completed, Henry exercised his levies by a series of campaigns (928-932) against the Slavic tribes along the Havel and the upper Elbe. The Hevellians (occupying the modern Brandenburg), and other tribes were subdued, and Bohemia was made tributary. These conflicts with the Slavs were also helpful to the German church, to which they opened a new field of action. Here the clergy and the lay nobility, working together in harmony, forgot their enmity, and became conscious once more of their fellowship in the most important interests of life. By these expeditions Henry followed the example of Charlemagne, and showed the Saxon people the path which was to lead them to a glorious future, and by following which they were destined to render Germany the greatest service.

While the Saxons were renewing their pristine valor in these conflicts, they were at the same time protecting themselves in the rear against an enemy which might destroy them if it allied itself with the Hungarians. The decisive conflict with the Magyars was now close at hand. The truce came to an end in 932. Perhaps it could have been prolonged by continuing the payment of tribute. Henry left the decision to his people. He summoned them to a gen-

eral assembly, and described the heavy sacrifices which they must make in order to raise the tribute, and which would utterly ruin the country if continued, since they would now be obliged to lay hands even upon the property of the church. He ended by asking whether the possibility of conquering in open battle, in which at the worst one could at least die gloriously, was not to be preferred to certain misery. With joyous shouts the assembly decided in favor of battle, and without delay everything was made ready for the conflict. At the end of 932 Hungarian ambassadors appeared and demanded further tribute; the Dalemicians insultingly offered them in its stead a fat dog. The enemy at once made an invasion. In the first weeks of the year 933 they attacked Thuringia, and then overran Saxony. The people of the level country withdrew with their movable property into the fortified places, while the king and the Saxon cavalry awaited the favorable moment for a battle. The Hungarians divided their forces, and sent one army westward by a wide circuit, while their main force besieged one of the royal castles, in which great treasures were said to have been deposited. The smaller of the two armies was disabled by the Thuringians and Saxons, whereupon the other called in the detachments that had been sent out to scour the country, for the purpose of beginning a retreat. Henry now thought that the favorable moment had arrived. He had collected the Saxon cavalry together in the valley of the Unstrut, near Rietheburg. Henry despatched a body of foot against the enemy. This detachment then retreated before the Hungarians, and drew them after it to the place where the king and the heavy cavalry were stationed in readiness to charge. When the Hungarians came upon the latter they perceived the snare, and turned to flee in haste. They sped away so swiftly on their fleet horses that Henry and his men could scarcely follow, and inflicted only slight loss upon them. Hence there was no serious engagement; but the moral effect of this glorious day (March 15, 933) was as great as though the Saxons had won a pitched battle. The camp which the fleeing enemy abandoned fell, with its rich booty, into the hands of the king's troops; and numerous prisoners who had expected to be carried away into servitude rejoiced at this unlooked-for rescue. The Hungarians, who were not good at carrying on war systematically, from this time left Saxony unmolested; and for twenty years they caused Germany no serious uneasiness. This fact gave people of later times a correspondingly great idea of the conflict which had accomplished so much, and hence the pre-

tended battle — which Liutprand erroneously places at Mersburg — became Henry's chief title to fame.

His contemporaries, however, judged otherwise. The defensive measures which Henry had taken had sufficed to protect Saxony against the Hungarians. But the most important use to which the military efficiency of the Saxons was put was against the enemies who were on the very frontier. In 934 Henry conquered Gorm the Old, the Danish king, and made him tributary. This was a far greater achievement than the dispersion of the Hungarian cavalry. For in the north far greater interests, involving more closely the future of the German and the Christian civilizations, were at stake, and by his victories over Slavs and Danes Henry did more to repair the errors of his predecessors than by his victory over the Hungarians.

Henry's successes changed his attitude toward the other German peoples. The independence which he had been obliged to concede to them remained unaltered; but of course his victories, which were of advantage to the whole kingdom, increased his moral authority, and enhanced the king's reputation and influence in all respects. The other German peoples followed his lead in matters of common interest more readily than before. The antagonism between classes, which had torn the kingdom asunder in the times of Arnulf, Louis the Child, and Conrad I., was allayed in the other countries, as well as in Saxony. The example which the lay nobility and episcopacy of that land set by their common labors in behalf of the national welfare found imitations elsewhere. As the farmers were now freed from fear of the Hungarians, agriculture revived, and in Saxony a municipal life which had been hitherto unknown was developed. In the intellectual sphere, also, the harbingers of a new era were appearing; for the clergy now began to look beyond the training which was indispensable for the ecclesiastical calling, and to strive after higher ends. The royal family itself, especially through the noble and talented women who belonged to it, did much to stimulate and promote this very movement. Henry must also have given his sons an education such as was not usual in that age, as we may conclude from the accounts which we have of Otto, Henry, and especially of Bruno, who was destined to follow an ecclesiastical career. Without having altered the modest form which the manner of its origin had forced it to assume, the royal authority of Henry I. had increased in extent, and, without infringing upon the independence of the different tribal domains in their own affairs, it had become more and more fully recognized abroad

as representing them collectively. Although Henry's victories over the Hungarians, Slavs, and Danes had at first profited only Saxony, and had not been of advantage to the whole East-Frankish kingdom until later, yet they meant also the triumph of Christendom and Christian civilization over heathendom with its barbarism. Henry was therefore a champion of Christianity, and from his position as such, according to the ideas of the time, he derived new and far-reaching rights. Apparently he had determined to assume and enforce these rights. Widukind tells us that the king was planning an expedition to Rome. His object in this must have been to gain

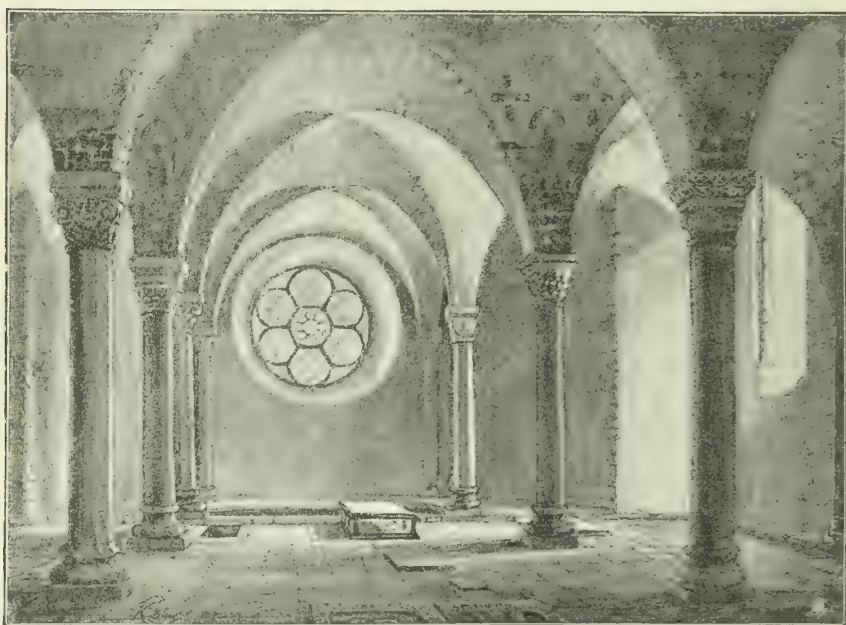


FIG. 60. — Crypt of the Cathedral of St. Peter, at Quedlinburg. Burial-place of Emperor Henry I. and his wife, Matilda.

the imperial crown, which had not been held by any one since the death of Berengarius of Friuli. This crown, according to the idea that was associated with it, belonged to Henry in return for what he had accomplished; and had he gained it his royal authority would have been increased still more.

But Henry was not destined to carry his plan into effect. A paralytic stroke, which came upon him in the latter part of the year 935, while he was staying in the palace of Bothfælde, in the Harz, broke down his strength. In Erfurt he gathered the nobles of the realm once more around him; and designated Otto, his eldest son by

Matilda, as his successor. He divided between Otto and his other sons the estates and treasures of the Ludolfings; but the idea of dividing the kingdom, not only was not seriously thought of, but seems to have been expressly rejected. For it is probably not without reason that Widukind takes pains to remark that Otto was placed by his father over his brothers and the whole Frankish realm. Perhaps Queen Matilda had proposed a division in the interest of her favorite son, Henry, who had been born while his father was king. Subsequent events give one ground for at least suspecting that the royal family was not in harmony on this point. From Erfurt, Henry had himself carried to the palace of Memleben. There he died, on July 2, 936, at the age of about sixty. He gave orders that he should be buried in the centre of Saxony, and in the heart of the estates of the Ludolfings, at Quedlinburg, in the cathedral of St. Peter (Fig. 59).

CHAPTER XI.

OTTO THE GREAT.

(A.D. 936-973.)

AFTER the death of Henry I., his son Otto I., known to history as 'the Great,' was acknowledged king by the nobles, and solemnly crowned and anointed at Aix-la-Chapelle (Figs. 61, 62). The character of Otto appears in the pages of contemporary annalists and panegyrists shrouded in the dim twilight which surrounds



FIGS. 61 and 62. — Royal seal of Otto I., and imperial seal of Otto I. (From impressions in the British Museum.)

a royal saint. But he appears in a quite different light when we draw conclusions as to his character from what he actually did and the way in which he did it. His was certainly a nature with a great gift for the ideal; but he was equally at home in the present with all its defects, and had a practical insight which enabled him to take advantage of its most favorable side. His lofty claims arose from his theocratic conception of the kingly office. He was bold when it was necessary to strike a blow, but was more of a diplomat than a soldier. He was a keen observer of men, and knew their weaknesses thoroughly. Naturally reserved and inclined to reverie, he revealed himself only to a few confidential friends, and

loved to surround himself with a halo of mystery, and to further his plans by the impression that he thus produced. These traits find a sufficient explanation in the dismal experience which he underwent in the first few years of his reign. Brought, as he was, more than once to the brink of ruin, and saved only as by a miracle, he might well be filled with a kind of fatalistic belief in his mission, and then in turn derive from that mission the right to make still higher claims in behalf of the kingly office.

Otto's accession to the throne was followed by stormy times. The old enemies on the border bestirred themselves. Boleslas of Bohemia, who had murdered his brother Wenceslaus, who had been a vassal of Germany, revolted. The Slavs were restless. Even the Hungarians undertook a raid against Swabia, Franconia, and Saxony. But all this was of little consequence, and the test to which these foes put the new king he stood by quickly repelling their invasion. The defence of the Saxon border against the Wends he left to the warlike Saxon nobleman, Hermann Billung, a wealthy and highly respected man of aristocratic lineage, who rendered good service in spreading the German civilization. Far worse than these commotions without was the crisis that began within the kingdom when the good understanding between Franks and Saxons, which formed the principal basis of the Saxon monarchy, was imperilled. Eberhard of Franconia was severely fined by the king for defending himself illegally, and regarded this punishment as a humiliation. The fact that it was inflicted because he had offended against a Saxon embittered him all the more, because the Saxons, who began to feel that they were the dominant people, often behaved exactingly and insolently. Moreover, the manner in which the new king defended the public peace, even against the strongest, made the dukes anxious for their power. Duke Berthold of Bavaria and Thankmar, Otto's half-brother, were made especially hostile by fancied slights, in particular by the appointment of Gero (Fig. 63) to the rich march on the Elbe and Saale. All saw that Otto had a conception of the royal prerogative which, if allowed to prevail, would put an end to the semi-independence of the nobility.

Eberhard of Franconia was the first to draw the sword. He invaded Saxony (938), whereupon Thankmar also took up arms. The latter captured the king's brother Henry and handed him over to Eberhard. But the revolt did not have the success that had been hoped for. In the south Duke Hermann of Swabia remained

true to the king, and in Saxony Hermann Billing fought on the same side. Thankmar, who had thrown himself with his followers into Eresburg, was killed during the storming of that fortress by the royal forces on June 28. With his death it seemed that peace was restored. But appearances were deceptive, and new and more dangerous complications were being prepared in secret. Even the king's brother Henry went over to the insurgents. The king's brother-in-law, Gisibert of Lorraine, was also in the plot. They skilfully deceived Otto, so that he underestimated the danger, and contented himself with putting Henry, whom he knew to be unreliable, under a light imprisonment. Henry's flight gave the signal for



FIG. 63.—Seal of the Margrave Gero, upon the patent for Gernrode, A.D. 964. (From v. Heinemann.)

the revolt. A bitter civil war broke out at once, especially in Westphalia, while Gisibert and Henry marched thither from the west in order to cross the Rhine. In 939 Otto hastened to meet them so as to check them, if possible, before they had passed the river. But his army was in the very act of crossing, and he himself with his main force was still on the right bank, when the van, which had already reached the other side, was attacked in the neighborhood of Xanten, near Birthen, by a superior force of the enemy, which appeared unexpectedly. His troops were hard pressed at first, but then gained an unexpected victory by skilfully turning

the enemy's flank. The attack made by Lorraine was repelled for the moment; but soon afterwards the venturesome Henry appeared in Saxony itself, hurried with his followers to Merseburg, and there resisted Otto with such success that the latter was finally obliged to allow him to retreat to Lorraine unimpeded. The king was now for the first time able to turn his arms against Eberhard of Franconia. But in this he was too late, for Eberhard and Gisibert had already joined forces. He now fell into great difficulties; for when he was encamped near Breisach, even the bishops who still clung to him (some of whom may have had an understanding with the enemy) looked upon his cause as lost, and gave signs of departure. People thought that the end of the Saxon dominion was close at hand, and

therefore many of the ecclesiastics made such haste that they went away and left their baggage behind. It seemed that the same fate which Louis the Pious had met on the Field of Lies was in store for Otto at Breisach. Whether he would or not, he was obliged to make up his mind to open negotiations; and he made Frederick of Mayence and Rothad of Strasburg commissioners with full powers. But the terms to which they treacherously assented were such that he could not accept them. He rejected them, and sent Frederick in safe custody to the distant city of Hamburg, while his accomplice from Strasburg was confined in the monastery of Corvei. For in the mean time affairs had taken an unexpected turn in Otto's favor, since Eberhard of Franconia and Giselbert lost their lives at the same time. After crossing the Rhine, the two had advanced into Saxony, plundering as they went. On the return they were overtaken by the royal forces under the Frankish Count Kurzpold; and while they were halting at the Rhine, which they were just on the point of crossing, they were unexpectedly attacked near Andernach. Eberhard was killed, and Giselbert perished by the capsizing of his boat among the waves while he was trying to escape. Henry was now the only remaining leader of the ducal party, but even then he did not think of submission. He went over to Louis IV., the king of the West Franks, who was deluding himself with all kinds of ambitious plans, and was trying to further his claims to Lorraine by marriage with Giselbert's widow, Gerberga, who was Otto's sister.

But the ducal cause was already lost; for as the headship of two of the tribal domains was left vacant at the same time, Otto was enabled to introduce a reform of the entire ducal system. Franconia remained unforgiven; the king himself was its duke from this time. Lorraine submitted, and received Henry for its governor; but he did not conduct himself well, and had to be removed. Embittered by the failure of all his ambitious plans, and driven to desperation by the feeling of shame which weighed him down, he resolved to pave his way to power by Otto's death. Frederick of Mayence and Rothad of Strasburg were once more Henry's accessories and accomplices. But the plot to assassinate the king was discovered. Those laymen who were most deeply involved in it were punished with death, while the ecclesiastics were imprisoned in monasteries. Henry was pardoned at the intercession of his mother Matilda, but was kept imprisoned in Ingelheim. There he at last came to himself. He escaped from custody, and on Christmas even-

ing, 941, suddenly presented himself before Otto in the cathedral at Frankfort during divine service, and begged for forgiveness in a spirit of sincere repentance. Otto generously granted his request, and had no cause to be sorry that he had done so. Henceforth Henry was one of the most loyal supporters of the throne.

Otto now insured the safety of Lorraine by an alliance with Count Hugh of Francia, the powerful domestic enemy of Louis IV. But to secure the stability of the kingdom, and especially to provide for its defence against the heathen swarms who had taken advantage of the civil war to assail it with renewed fury all along the eastern frontier, he saw that still further reforms were necessary. Not only was it necessary that the power of the lay estates should be ready for use at his command, but the vast property of the church, with its thousands of able-bodied vassals, who by the development of ecclesiastical privilege had been practically withdrawn from the service of the state, must be made available for national defence.

Just as formerly the military innovations of Henry I. were at first confined to Saxony, but after they had been tested there influenced also the other parts of the kingdom and were imitated in them, so this alteration in the position of the church was first carried into effect in Saxony, and then introduced from that country into the other portions of the realm. For it was in Saxony that the need of intimate union and harmonious co-operation of church and state was most keenly felt, because permanent successes against the Slavs could not be gained unless missions and the organization of churches kept even pace with the arms of the margraves. The interests of the land itself required that a national church should be established there which should be equally efficient in the intellectual, moral, economic, and military spheres.

Otto accordingly established monasteries and bishoprics in the territories lately wrested from the Slavs and Danes, on a new system. The persons in charge of these sees were officers who, apart from their special religious duties, stood entirely at the king's service, both with their own persons and with the rich temporal estates of their churches. Otto subsequently compelled all the German bishops to take the same position which he had assigned to the bishops of Saxony with reference to the special circumstances of that country. In order to exercise absolute control over the churches of the kingdom and their resources, he placed in the most important posts relatives of his family and trusty friends, who were bound to him by

personal ties as well as by their official position. Beginning with 953, his youngest brother, Bruno, governed the archbishopric of Cologne; while his own illegitimate son William (whom a Slavic mistress had borne him in his youth) was subsequently placed over the church of Mayence; and soon afterwards Henry, who was also a kinsman of the Ludolfings, was placed in charge of the see of Treves. The more liberally Otto endowed these churches with estates, revenues, and privileges of every sort, the greater were the resources that afterward stood once more at his disposal. Thus Otto at this time laid the foundation of the princely authority of the German bishops by granting them rights of taxation and coinage and market privileges, and even by making cities subject to them. From the abundance of the wealth that they thus acquired arose the riches and the power of the German episcopacy, which, in turn, did good service to the crown by the important military aid which it rendered. This league between the German church and the German state, in which the two parties by no means stood on equal terms, was the foundation upon which the German state rested during the following century; and the destruction of that foundation in the struggle about the right of investiture led to the overthrow of the state.

Backed by the powerful support which the church gave him (Fig. 64), Otto was now able to execute a change in the dukedoms, which did not abolish them indeed, but rendered them incapable of doing harm. The separation which already existed between the different German peoples made it impossible to use the most radical means, the abolition of the ducal office. Instead, the king gradually placed over the duchies men upon whom he could rely. Saxony remained under the rule of the trusty Hermann Billung, while from 944 Lorraine was governed by the hero of Andernach, Conrad Kurzpold (also surnamed 'the Red'), who had married the princess Liutgard; and after the death of Berthold, Bavaria was under Otto's brother Henry, who had thoroughly reformed. In 949 Ludolf, Otto's son by the Anglo-Saxon princess Edith (who had died in the meantime), received Swabia. He had married the daughter of his predecessor, Hermann. Besides, the powers of the dukes were curtailed to a considerable extent. Like the bishops, the counts, who were subordinate to the dukes, were appointed directly by the king, so that he could now interfere with the administration at any moment. Moreover, it was probably at this time that the office of the counts palatine was established. These had each the government of a particular

county, but, in addition to this, exercised a kind of oversight over the dukes, and in particular had charge of the royal estates that

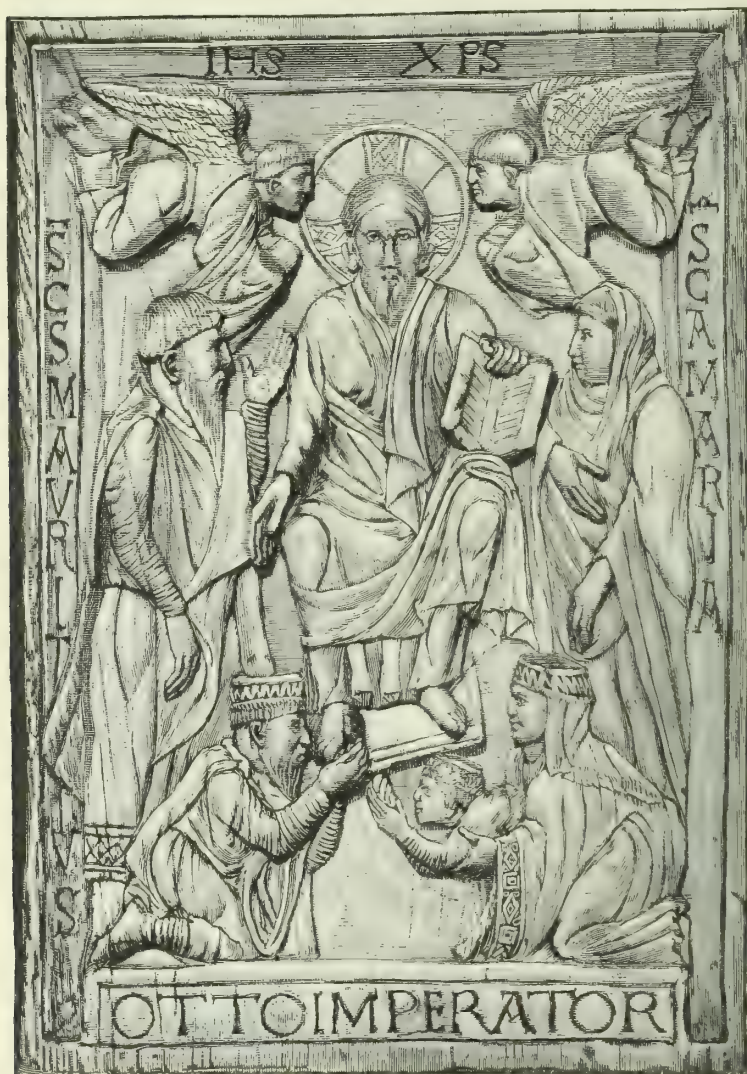


FIG. 61. — Ivory tablet, with representation of Emperor Otto I., his wife, and his son. The emperor kisses the feet of Jesus Christ, who sits enthroned between the emperor's patron saint Maurice and the Virgin. Executed in the period of Otto I., and probably giving a portrait of the emperor. Original in the possession of Marchese Trivulzi at Milan.

were situated in the various districts. The dukes and counts, also, were from this time considered as officers of the crown: but since

their pay consisted of the land which was placed in their charge, i.e., their fiefs, and as these fiefs had long since become hereditary and still continued to be so, the offices of duke and count had still a tendency to become hereditary. This tendency, together with the significance which the dukedoms still retained as representing the different tribes, ultimately made Otto's reforms ineffectual, especially since those reforms depended only upon the person of the monarch, and were endangered by the first change of rulers that took place.

As this new system was gradually carried into effect within the realm, the kingdom gained strength, and became more successful abroad. Germany once more assumed a commanding position. In 947 Otto marched against Harold Blue-tooth of Denmark. Boleslas of Bohemia was obliged to do homage in 950. His son, Boleslas II., went over to Christianity. In Prague a bishopric was established, which was assigned to the see of Mayence. On the Elbe and Saale, Hermann Billung and Margrave Gero carried on successfully the struggle against the Wends: and from the newly established sees of Brandenburg, Havelburg, Zeitz, Merseburg, and Meissen, Christianity and the German civilization spread eastward. In the west, King Louis IV. of France placed himself formally under the protection of Otto. Louis was at the point of being dethroned by Hugh of Francia; but Otto saved him by advancing victoriously as far as Rouen, and compelling the haughty count to submit himself to his arbitrament in 947 at Ingelheim. The influence of Germany was also widened and strengthened by the closer relations that Otto formed with Burgundy and Italy. Those with the latter country especially led to important results.

A condition of fearful savagery prevailed in Italy, and it seemed as though the night of utter barbarism was destined to cover the remnants of a higher civilization which had survived from better times. Worst of all was the state of things in Rome itself, where city and church alike were wasting away in sin and shame. Together with the papacy, the imperial office sank into the deepest degradation, and became the plaything of unprincipled adventurers and immoral women who were members of the dissolute Roman nobility. The party of the dukes of Spoleto, which ever since Guido was crowned emperor had been dominant in Rome, did not forgive Pope Formosus for going over to the Germans and crowning Arnulf. After the death of that pope in 896, the ducal party gave vent to its rage by permitting the dregs of the populace to misuse his corpse.

and caused Stephen VII. (896–897), whom it had raised to power, to declare all the official acts of his predecessor null and void. The popes who were raised to power by the Spoletine party, and then deposed as soon as they resisted the wishes of the latter, now followed one another in rapid succession. Meanwhile Guido's son Lambert, the last person who had worn the title of emperor, died. In order to free himself from the tyranny of the Spoletines, Benedict IV. (900–903) conferred the imperial title on Louis III., a son of King Boso of High Burgundy. But Louis was kept in Upper Italy by a contest with Berengarius of Friuli, and did not make his authority felt at all in Rome itself. Benedict's successor, Leo V., was put out of the way by violence after a few weeks. His opponent, Christopher, also retained the position only a couple of months, and was then obliged to make way for the unworthy Sergius III. (904–911), who had once before obtained possession of the tiara for a short time. But in reality it was Marozia, the mistress of Sergius, and her mother Theodora, who henceforth wielded the power, both in religious and secular matters. To the influence of the latter, it is said even the third successor of Sergius, John X. (914–928), owed his elevation. This pope crowned Berengarius emperor in 915 in order to secure his protection. But Berengarius was occupied with the struggle against Rudolf II. of Burgundy, who had risen against him in Upper Italy as a rival king, and could not trouble himself about Rome. John X. was obliged to defend himself, even against the Arabs, who were advancing from the south. He succeeded in this in 916 by defeating them near the Garigliano. The murder of Berengarius in 924 crushed John's hopes utterly. The degradation of the Eternal City and the papal chair now reached its utmost limit. All the consecrations which Formosus had bestowed were annulled; and this annulment, which had been revoked after the death of Stephen VII., but was renewed by Sergius III., occasioned hopeless confusion within the church, since it called in question the standing of hundreds and thousands of ecclesiastics. Meanwhile Marozia and her precious crew of associates took the reins of power into their own hands. She then gave a share in the authority to Marquis Guido of Tuscany, whom she had chosen for a husband. This man carried on a wicked and tyrannical government, to which John X. himself fell a victim in 928. Even after Guido's death, Marozia, who wore the titles of 'senatress' and 'patrician,' exercised an absolute sway over the city and the church. But when she carried her shameless-

ness so far as to raise the offspring of her amours with Sergius III. to the papal chair (931), under the name of John XI., and to cause her third husband, Hugh of Burgundy, who had obtained the crown of Italy after Berengarius's death, to be crowned emperor, Marquis Alberic II., of Tuscany, her own son by her first marriage, rose against her, put an end to her disgraceful rule, and restored order with unrelenting severity. But the papacy remained in its former servitude, and hence was unable to fulfil its mission, and give the wished-for aid to the great religious and political reforms which Otto I. was trying to bring about. Moreover, there was still another way in which Otto was drawn into the complications of Italian politics, and compelled to interfere with the degenerate Holy See.

While Alberic II. was at last restoring order in Rome and its territory, Upper Italy was plunged into new civil feuds. Marquis Berengarius of Ivrea, a grandson of the Emperor Berengarius, and a claimant of the Italian crown, wished to strengthen himself by marrying his son to the beautiful Adelheid, widow of Lothair, son of his rival, the 'emperor' Hugh. But Adelheid refused, and persisted even when Berengarius tried to bend her to his will by imprisonment and privation. Now the royal house of Saxony was interested in Adelheid's fate from ties of kinship; for Otto's son, Ludolf of Swabia, had married her half-sister Ida, while her brother, the young king Conrad of Burgundy, was a protégé of Otto, and often stayed at his court. Moreover, Adelheid herself had gained a good reputation by hospitably entertaining many Germans who were making the pilgrimage to Rome. But there were political motives far stronger than these personal ties. As early as the time of Henry I., Italy, Bavaria, and Swabia had frequently come into collision; and this was probably what led Henry to plan an expedition to Rome. As Germany increased in strength, and Italy became more and more disorganized, such projects became quite prevalent. Ludolf of Swabia deceived himself with plans of conquest; and his uncle, Henry of Bavaria, also cherished similar schemes. But if these plans had been carried into effect, the ducal power would have been increased to an extent that would have been inconvenient for Otto. Henry had already gained a firm foothold south of the Alps by obtaining possession of Aquileia (in 949). This success displeased and disquieted Ludolf, and made his relations with his uncle less friendly. All these things drew Otto toward Italy; and, in addition to them, there now came Adelheid's call for aid. Edith's death immediately

led him to form still more far-reaching plans. The prospect of gaining the crown of Italy, together with the hand of Adelheid, must have been all the more attractive for Otto, because it was necessary for him to obtain a strong position in Italy before he could secure sufficient influence at Rome to enable him to crush the obstinate resistance of the German bishops, and make the German church completely subservient to his will. Besides, his sincerely religious mind was offended at the degradation of the Roman See, and he thought it a meritorious action to put an end to it. Thus all these various influences combined to produce, in the year 951, that great alteration in Otto's policy which decided the fate of Italy and Germany for nearly five hundred years, and determined the course that the development of the West was to follow.

In the summer of 951 Otto marched over the Alps. Ludolf of Swabia had already appeared in Lombardy, but had accomplished nothing, and was fittingly reprovèd by his father for his over-haste and presumption. Almost everywhere the people rendered Otto willing obedience. Berengarius retired to his castles, while in the meantime Adelheid had succeeded in escaping from prison, and was in safety under the protection of the Bishop of Reggio. Duke Henry of Bavaria appeared in that city to ask her hand for his brother, and in September she was married to Otto at Pavia. Meanwhile, the latter had assumed the title of king of Italy, and had taken the government of the country into his hands purely by right of conquest, without having been elected by the nobles, or crowned by the church. But it would seem that his plans already went farther than this; and the object of the embassy to Pope Agapetus II. (946-955), on which he sent Frederick of Mayence and Bishop Hartbert of Coire, can scarcely have been anything else than to obtain the imperial crown.

Otto was prevented from carrying out his plans by the dangerous proceedings which were going on in his immediate vicinity and in his rear. The tidings of a revolt, which Ludolf, who had returned in anger to Swabia, was planning in concert with the ever-unreliable Frederick of Mayence, compelled Otto to return over the Alps. He left the task of subduing Berengarius to his son-in-law, Conrad of Lorraine, who made, on his own responsibility, a peace with Berengarius, by the terms of which the latter was to remain king of Italy, subject to Otto's feudal supremacy, and suddenly presented himself before Otto at Magdeburg with the news

of what he had done. In view of the impending rebellion, Otto was forced to acquiesce, and so to relinquish the Italian crown which he had just won. Otto's position remained a difficult one. He dared not risk an open battle with the rebels. Instead of striking a blow he negotiated. In the spring of 953 he had a conference for that purpose with Ludolf and Conrad in Mayence. He was forced to concede their demands, that is, to accept the conditions on which they were willing to lay down their arms. These conditions are unknown; they may have been aimed at Henry, and have related to the diminution of his power, and the removal of his influence, or they may have been intended to insure Ludolf the succession to the throne. No sooner did Otto find himself among his trusty Saxons than he issued from Dortmund a declaration that the agreement which had been made at Mayence was invalid, and summoned the rebels to a diet at Fritzlar. Perhaps he had only wished to gain time by the negotiations, because he mistrusted his strength, and did not feel sure of success; at least, the course which events took is in accord with this view. Mayence, which Otto first attacked, resisted successfully; and while he was detained there, enemies who had been biding their time found an opportunity to revolt. In Bavaria the count-palatine Arnulf took up arms against Duke Henry; and in Saxony, Ekbert, a nephew of Hermann Billung, sided with the insurgents. But, on the other hand, the rebellious princes were hard pressed in their own territories by the rising of the royal party. The worst circumstance, however, was that the civil war gave the Hungarians courage to make a new invasion, which fell first upon Lorraine, where Bruno of Cologne was governing circumspectly. The insurgents had no scruples about openly accepting an alliance with these barbarians. Their partisans, however, could not follow them in such an excess of blind hatred, and began to desert. Ludolf and Conrad the Red soon found themselves abandoned. The latter returned to his allegiance. Ludolf and the Bavarian count-palatine Arnulf kept up a resistance in Ratisbon for a considerable time; but after the latter had fallen Ludolf laid down his arms. The bishops, whose fidelity had wavered, were led to return to their allegiance by the death of Frederick of Mayence in October, 954. As the year drew to its close, the crown was everywhere victorious, without having really waged any serious conflict.

Otto (Figs. 65-68) now carried on the reorganization of the

kingdom, which he had begun after the suppression of the revolt of 939-941, more resolutely and quickly than before, while by his royal clemency he shamed the conquered, and reconciled them to himself. Both Ludolf and Conrad the Red remained in possession of their family estates, which they had really forfeited by their treason. But the former was succeeded in the dukedom of Swabia by Burkhard II., who had proved faithful during the civil war, and had married the highly cultivated daughter of the Bavarian duke. Lorraine remained under the wise and vigorous rule of the archbishop



FIGS. 65-68. — Coins of Emperor Otto I. (From Cappe.)

FIG. 65. — Obv. : Cross with four globes. Legend (in reverse direction) : † ODDO † RE. Rev. : COLONIA ; above, an S ; below, an A.

FIG. 66. — Obv. : Cross with four globes. Legend : † ODDO † REX. Rev. : Maltese cross. Legend : THERTMANNI (Dortmund).

FIG. 67. — Obv. : In the field ODDO, and REX, the latter making a cross with the former ; in the four vacant spaces on the margin, IM-PR-AT-OR. Rev. : Cross with four globes. Legend : † T † RE † V † R † I † (Treveri, Treves).

FIG. 68. — Obv. : Cross with four globes. Legend : † ODDO REX. Rev. : RENVAD, written backwards, with an S above, and an A below (= St. Reinvald, patron saint of Dortmund).

of Cologne. Otto himself hastened to the east in order to check the Slavs, who had profited by the civil war to renew their disturbances. Then in the summer of 955 came the tidings of a new invasion of the Hungarians. Taking advantage of a severe illness of Duke Henry, they had committed fearful depredations in Bavaria, and were pressing hard upon Augsburg, which was bravely defended under the lead of Bishop Udalrich. The king at once hastened to the spot. Conrad the Red brought him Frankish troops, under Burkhard II. appeared the Swabian forces, and re-enforcements came from Bohemia. The army united with the Bavarian levies, and marched

to the Lechfield to raise the siege of Augsburg. On August 10, 955, came the decisive battle. The Germans were endangered and confused by the turning of their flank and the loss of their baggage; but they won a decisive victory, which blotted out the sad recollection of the errors of the last few years, and put an end to the Hungarian invasions. According to the historian Widukind, Otto's soldiers saluted him 'father of his country' and 'imperator' on the field of battle. The idea of a renewal of the empire was inherent in the nature of the time; but it obtained practical importance only through the events which had taken place meanwhile in Italy, and which led Otto to interfere once more with the affairs of that country.

While Otto was contending against the revolt of his kinsmen, Alberic II. died (954), and the sovereignty over Rome and its territory passed into the hands of his youthful son, Octavian. The latter, after the death of Agapetus II., seized also the supreme power in the church, and caused himself to be consecrated pope under the name of John XII. His intention was, as it seems, to found a Central-Italian state; and he claimed for this state all those domains which were granted to the church by the 'donations' of Pepin and Charlemagne, especially the Pentapolis and the Exarchate. His efforts brought him into collision with Berengarius of Ivrea, who had taken advantage of the troubles in Germany to make himself again independent of Otto, and was extending his territory toward the south. To check Berengarius's progress, Otto sent Ludolf (in 956) to Italy, where the latter was fully to expiate his guilt, and perhaps to win a crown for himself. But his premature death in Novara, in September, 957, put an end to his successes. Berengarius now extended his dominions to the west and south without hindrance, and John XII. soon saw himself in serious danger from him. The pope turned for aid to the German king. His prayer was heard all the more favorably because in the mean time Otto had been induced from another quarter and for another purpose to interest himself in the Roman Church. The ecclesiastical reform party of the Cluniacs, which had been founded by Berno, a member of the ducal house of Burgundy, beginning from the monastery of Cluny (Fig. 69), had begun to reform first the Benedictine order and then the monks in general. Under Odilo, abbot of Cluny, this party was beginning to exercise its influence more and more widely, and had entered into closer relations with Otto, who had received it as a welcome ally.

He hoped that its earnest endeavors in the cause of morality would help him to carry out the change which he had planned in the attitude of the church toward the state, and especially of the bishops toward the king. For the reform longed for by the Cluniacs could not be brought about unless the barbarism in Rome itself was brought to an end, and the papacy compelled to devote itself to its proper mission once more. Thus the Saxon monarchy, which was striving after the highest worldly power and honor, allied itself with the mightiest intellectual and moral force of the time. Otto marched to Italy, not merely for his own advantage, but also as the champion

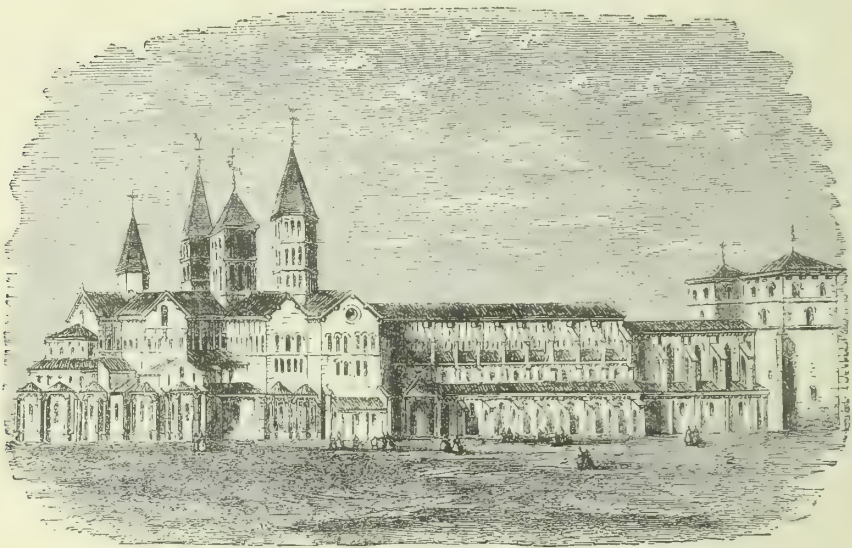


FIG. 69. — The ancient Abbey of Cluny. (From de Witt.)

of ecclesiastical reform. He was at once the instrument and the embodiment of a great historical necessity.

In the spring of 961 Otto made his preparations for an expedition to the south. In May the nobles elected king the son of Otto and Adelheid, who was then a boy of seven years. At Whitsuntide the child was crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle. Otto made Archbishop William of Mayence regent, while Lorraine was intrusted to the care of Bruno of Cologne. In Upper Italy, Otto again met with easy success: Berengarius withdrew into his mountain fastnesses without a conflict. Otto entered Rome on January 31, 962, and was crowned emperor on February 2. John XII. granted the coronation because he could not refuse it without danger to himself; but

he would by no means allow to it the significance which Otto attributed to it, and wished to have recognized as belonging to it. Otto desired to be master of Rome as Charlemagne had been; and, like his great predecessor, he claimed control of the election of popes, and wished to hold sway over the dominions of the church just as he did over the imperial territory. Yet he, too, adopted for the time an attitude of expectancy. On February 12 a council, presided over by the pope and the emperor, was held in St. Peter's. This body granted one of Otto's most cherished wishes by assenting to his plan of establishing an archbishopric in Magdeburg. This step was connected with his scheme of religious and political reform, inasmuch as by it the dangerous preponderance of the see of Mayence was diminished, and the central point of the missions among the Slavs transferred to Saxony. On the other points Otto and John XII. came to a compromise. On February 13 the emperor, in accordance with the pope's request, confirmed to the church by document all possessions which were due to her since the 'donations' of Pepin (including Calabria and Sicily "in case God should deliver these into his hands"), and added a few places in the territory of Spoleto; but at the same time it was acknowledged that the emperor's rights in this territory underwent no change. The fact that the domains of the church belonged to the empire, and the bishop of Rome was the emperor's deputy, was unequivocally expressed. But Otto required better securities. He insisted that in electing the pope the legal method should be strictly followed, and even a pope who had been legally elected was not to receive consecration until he had sworn allegiance to the emperor. The supervision over the dukes and judges appointed by the pope was to be jointly exercised by imperial and papal envoys.

John XII. found himself bitterly disappointed. After such a beginning he might apprehend still worse treatment in case the influence of the Cluniacs over Otto became stronger. He resolved to burst the fetters. On the other hand, people were not satisfied with Otto's clemency, and thought that John's blood-stained career should be expiated in a very different way. The emperor advised them to have patience. The pope, he said, was still young, and with good advisers would promptly enter the right path. Thus everything was in reality still unsettled when Otto returned to Upper Italy to carry on the war against Berengarius. John XII. at once let the mask fall, leagued himself with Berengarius (whose son, Adalbert, appeared at Rome),

and wished to call in even Greeks and Saracens against Otto. But when the latter, in November, 962, stood once more before the walls of Rome, the pope escaped. Otto now bound the Romans by an oath never to appoint a pope without his permission or that of his son. On November 6 he presided over a council in St. Peter's, which instituted a suit against John XII. as guilty of murder, perjury, robbery of churches, and incest. Since the pope did not present himself for trial, and even threatened the council with ecclesiastical penalties, he was deposed early in December; and with Otto's consent the 'Protoscrinarius' of the Roman church was raised to the chair of St. Peter as Leo VIII. The very natural displeasure of the Romans at the lessening of the papal dignity found vent in January, 964, in an insurrection, which Otto quickly suppressed. But while the emperor was marching against Adalbert, the comrades and partisans of John XII. roused the excitable multitude to a new revolt. Leo VIII. was driven out; John returned, and issued severe penal edicts against Leo and his followers. But he died in May; whereupon the clergy and the people elected, contrary to their oath, a new pope, the worthy Benedict V. But Otto and his Germans soon stood before the city. It was hard pressed, and surrendered on June 23. Benedict V. was given up to Otto, and Leo VIII. returned. A council now deposed Benedict; and, in spite of his repentance, he was carried a prisoner to Germany. But the pride of the Romans revolted at the depreciation which the importance of their city would suffer if the papacy were made an office of the empire, and were deprived of its secular splendor, so as to become an exclusively religious dignity. Moreover, the Italians, and especially the Romans, were restive under the rule of the Germans, who seemed to them barbarians. Thus the uneasiness in Rome continued and increased, and was only prevented from breaking out by the tidings of Otto's new victories. The latter was victorious in the north, overpowered Berengarius, and sent him to Germany to be imprisoned in a cloister, while Adalbert escaped to Corsica. In the spring of 965 Leo VIII. died, and ambassadors from the emperor gave him a successor in the person of John XIII. The latter treated the refractory nobles with severity, whereupon (at the close of 965) the general discontent found vent in deeds of violence. John XIII. was imprisoned. Adalbert appeared in Lombardy at the head of his followers, who were gathering themselves, and even counted several bishops among their number. But at the news that Otto was approaching, the imperial-

ists rose in Rome, and restored John XIII. Otto punished the repeated treason of the Romans by a severe chastisement. The prime movers perished on the gallows, while those less guilty were banished. The emperor's displeasure rested heavily upon the city, which was depressed by the inglorious end of its splendor, and bowed in silent terror before the swords of the northern conquerors.

The church was now in the emperor's power. She was atoning, under the pressure of an iron rule in temporal matters, for the fathomless corruption of the last fifty years. What is more, she was conscious of her guilt, and grateful to Otto that he, although at a heavy cost, had rescued her from the hands of unprincipled' adventurers, and restored her to herself. The imperial office, which Otto had been obliged to receive from the hands of an unworthy man, now obtained a broader and more ideal significance. Otto and John XIII. jointly held a council, at Easter of the year 967, in Ravenna. There the pope confirmed (by a bull dated April 20) the establishment of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and praised Otto as the restorer of Rome, and the third person who had saved the church from impending ruin, Constantine and Charlemagne being the other two. At this time Otto (Fig. 70) gave Ravenna to the church, reserving, however, his imperial rights. Then in the autumn he met his son, the thirteen-year-old King Otto, in Verona. They then proceeded by way of Ravenna to Rome; and there, on the first Christmas holiday of the year 967, the young king received from the hand of John XIII. the imperial crown, which was thus declared in the most solemn fashion to be hereditary in the Saxon house. At that moment the empire seemed to be freed from all subjection to the church. It was Otto's own will and command which made his youthful son emperor, and the church in crowning him was only fulfilling the order of her master. The hereditary emperorship had been established; and as a result, the German crown, too, necessarily became hereditary.

Otto now determined to drive the Arabs from Lower Italy, and desired to come to a peaceful understanding with the Greeks, as a preliminary step. Accordingly, in 968, he sent Bishop Liutprand, of Cremona, to the emperor Nicephorus; but the envoy accomplished nothing, and was even imprisoned for a time. Berengarius's son,



FIG. 70.—Seal of Otto I. On a ring. (From Cappe.)

Adalbert, appeared again in the field in Lower Italy with the allied

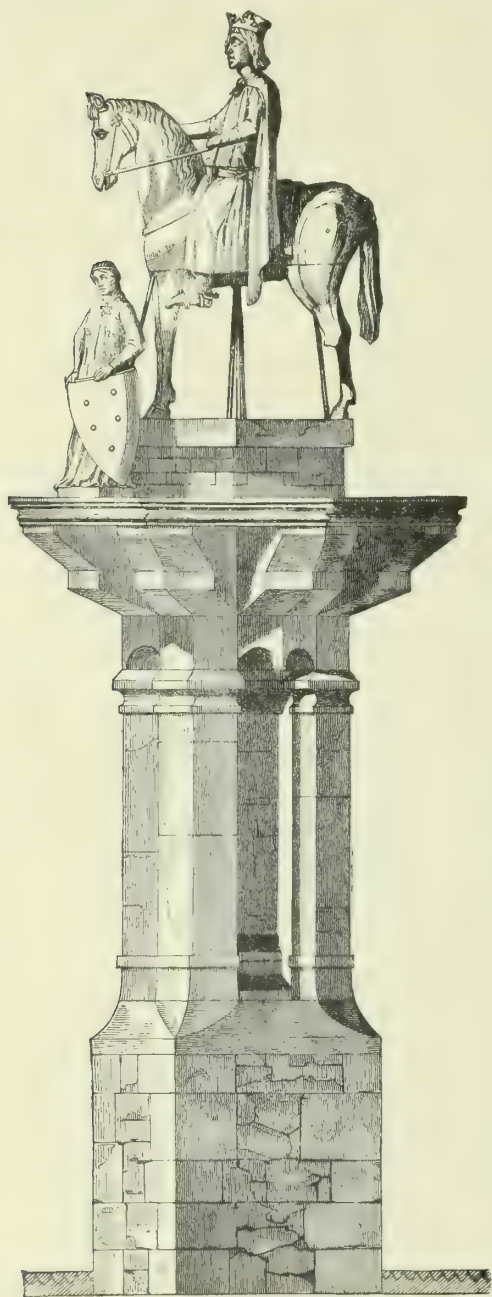


FIG. 71. — Equestrian statue of Emperor Otto I., at Magdeburg. (From Förster.)

forces of the Greeks and Arabs. At this point a revolution on the Bosphorus unexpectedly gave affairs a peaceful turn. Nicephorus Phocas fell; and his cousin, John Zimisces, made haste to become reconciled with Otto. The sixteen-year-old Theophano, the beautiful, cultivated, and noble daughter of the emperor Romanus II., was betrothed to Otto II., who was then eighteen years of age. She received the Greek possessions in Lower Italy as her dowry. The wedding was held at Rome in the spring of 972.

More fortunate than Charlemagne, Otto had gained a complete success, even in the south. He could regard his life-work as finished. His son, whose marriage with the Greek princess entitled him to great claims for the future, stood by his side as emperor and king to maintain and carry on the work. So Otto now returned at last to Germany, for at heart he was thoroughly German. Many changes had taken place there in the meanwhile; and the group of his confidential associates, which had always been a small one, had been much thinned. In

968 had died William of Mayence, who had never recovered from his vexation at the lessening of his power by the founding of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Soon afterward Queen Matilda had passed away; and when the emperor now held a diet, in March of 973, at Quedlinburg, he had to lament the death of the faithful Hermann Billing. But the great number of princes who approached him to do homage, and the long train of embassies from distant lands, caused him to behold once more with gratitude the rich success of his life-work. He wished to celebrate Whitsuntide in Memleben. But a few days before that time, on May 6, he was seized with a sudden illness after a meal. This sickness was at once perceived to be premonitory of his rapidly approaching end. Otto died on that very evening, surrounded by the consolations of religion. His last resting-place was prepared for him a few weeks later in Magdeburg, in the cathedral of St. Maurice, by the side of his Anglo-Saxon wife, Edith. (Cf. Fig. 71.)

CHAPTER XII.

THE IDEAL OF UNIVERSAL EMPIRE, UNDER OTTO II. AND OTTO III., ATTAINED AND THEN LOST.

(A. D. 973-1002.)

AS we have seen, Otto I. took advantage of the successes which his father had gained to effect an increase in the royal authority; and when the power passed into the hands of Otto II. (Fig. 72), who had for years held the titles of king and emperor and stood beside his father as his equal and associate in the government, a similar increase took place. But although the change of rulers seemed at first to alter the situation very little, it soon became evident that with the new em-

peror new political ideas had come into activity which made it probable that the empire would undergo still further transformation. This resulted from the very personality and character of the new ruler, the circumstances under which he had been prepared for his mission, and the ideals which inspired him.

Without question Otto II. surpassed his great father in natural endowments and breadth of view. The Saxon element, which in Otto I. had formed the basis of his whole character, had been



FIG. 72. —Imperial seal of Otto II. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

weakened in the younger Otto through the influence of his Burgundian mother; and to her we may ascribe the fiery animation and the sometimes over-hasty activity which distinguish the son from his reserved and moody father, who never drew the sword except in case of necessity. Moreover, as Otto II. had a better education, and consequently possessed a clearer insight into the religious and political conditions of his time, he conducted his policy from a higher standpoint than his father; for the latter had never quite emancipated himself from the

control of purely Saxon interests, and viewed even the greatest political and religious problems from the Saxon standpoint first of all. The young emperor's inclination toward the ideal and universal was increased by the influence of his Grecian wife. She was a gifted woman, who was familiar with three civilizations; for she was a Greek by birth, became an Italian for political reasons, and was forced to become a German by the harsh dictates of dynastic interests. She united in a wonderful manner the insight and energy of a statesman with the prudent gentleness and fascinating personality of a lady, and as the representative of the claim to universal sovereignty she was destined to occupy an important place by the side of her husband in the world's history. The alluring prospect of a vast empire like that of Charlemagne had not revealed itself to Otto the Great until the close of an eventful reign; but it presented itself to Otto II. as the nearest and, so to speak, the most natural object for him to pursue. Hence from the very first the latter was principally, and indeed almost exclusively, an emperor; while his father had always continued to be king of Germany, even after obtaining the imperial crown. This caused the universal interests to outweigh the national, and forced Germany to yield the first place to Italy. Thus in the empire in which, under Otto the Great, national and universal, German and Italian interests, had been united on an equal footing, was created a breach which rapidly widened, and brought both kingdoms and both peoples into a serious crisis.

The difficulties began in Germany, where the hostility which had troubled the early part of Otto's reign was renewed among the younger generation. Henry, the duke of Bavaria — who had died in 955 — after falling into grave errors, had become the firmest support of the new system which his brother had established, and had been rewarded for this by preferment of every kind. Thus the duchy had at last acquired a degree of power which was endurable for Otto the Great, but might easily become dangerous to his son. Around the widow of Duke Henry of Bavaria, Judith, the fair and haughty daughter of the former duke, Arnulf, gathered a great band of kinsmen and of princes related to her by marriage, as well of trusty laymen and ecclesiastics who were under obligations to her. Her son, Duke Henry the younger (to whom, from the evil part that he subsequently played, the people gave the surname of 'the Quarrelsome'), had married a daughter of King Conrad of Burgundy, and niece of the Empress Adelheid. Judith's daughter, Hedwig, a woman of almost scholarly attainments, had lost her husband, Burkhard II. of Swabia, but was actually governing that

duchy herself, and was thinking of disposing of it in the interest of her family by marrying a second time. Many of the bishops of Swabia and Bavaria clung to the powerful ducal house, were it only for the sake of their own advantage. In particular, Abraham of Freising (957-993), Pilgrim of Passau (971-991) and Henry of Augsburg (973-982) were regarded as zealous partisans of it. Their proximity and the importance of the see of Passau for missionary work caused Bavaria to exert a strong influence on Hungary. In view of these circumstances, Otto II. gave Swabia to his intimate friend Otto, who was the son of his half-brother, Ludolf. The partisans of the house of Bavaria, led by Bishop Abraham of Freising, revolted at once. But Otto's quickness and energy straightway crushed the rebellion. The prime movers were placed in safe custody; and Judith, who had been the soul of the undertaking, was compelled to retire into a nunnery.

The emperor soon took the field to protect the border, first against the Danes, and then against Boleslas II. of Bohemia. Meanwhile the Bavarian party renewed its intrigues; and by a second revolt, it threw all Southern Germany into civil war (975). For the second time Otto crushed the rebels; and he was now, as a matter of course, compelled to decide upon the division of the Bavarian power, which had denied its own origin, and opposed the sovereignty of the Saxon line more recklessly than even the champions of the ducal system of government had done. The duchy of Bavaria now ceased to exist as such. Its eastern march, which protected Germany against Hungary, was given to Leopold of Babenberg, while his brother, Berthold of Babenberg, received the Frankish north-march between the middle part of the Danube and the Bohemian forest, which served as a defence against Boleslas II. of Bohemia. The mountain-districts of Carinthia and Carniola, which extended on the one hand toward Hungary and on the other toward Italy, Otto gave to Henry, a son of Berthold, the former duke of Bavaria. Moreover, the archbishopric of Salzburg and the see of Passau, where Pilgrim had remained loyal, were richly endowed with Bavarian territory. The rest of Bavaria was united with Swabia under Duke Otto. But even this measure did not have the hoped-for result. It seems to have been too radical even for many of Otto's partisans and to have made people anxious for fear that a tyranny was impending which would endanger the rights of all alike. The Bavarian people also felt reluctant to give up the independence which it had thus far enjoyed, and to see itself more firmly united to the empire. This is the only way in which one

can explain the fact that the very men who had been the gainers by the fall of the Bavarian house soon afterward made common cause with its defenders against Otto. The emperor's absence on another expedition against Bohemia, by which he forced Boleslas II. to become his vassal in 977, gave an opportunity for a third revolution, in which even Otto of Carinthia and Bishop Henry of Augsburg participated. But the insurgents prospered no better than before. Henry the Quarrelsome, the former duke of Bavaria, was now arrested as a prisoner of state; and Carinthia was given to the emperor's nephew, Otto, the son of Conrad the Red of Lorraine and Princess Liutgard. But even when, after four years of fighting, peace had been restored, and the king's authority enforced, bitterness and resentment rankled in the hearts of the conquered, a seed which might easily spring up and bear evil fruit. Those erred, however, who made the young emperor responsible for this turn of affairs and accused him of ingratitude to the memory of his uncle and of wilfully forsaking the family policy of his father. Yet this was the judgment of his mother Adelheid, although Otto had not brought about so complete a revolution of his own accord, but had been driven to it by the repeated treason of his kinsmen. In regard to this matter a formal rupture took place between the mother and the son; Adelheid retired from court and took up her residence in Italy.

These civil wars had damaged the empire in the eyes of its neighbors. Even France,—as from this point we may properly call the former West Frankish kingdom,—though still feeble, took heart to make an attempt to carry out, at the expense of Germany, ambitious designs which she had long entertained. Reginar and Lambert, the nephews of Gisibert, were trying to enforce their supposed claims to the duchy of Lorraine. They secured the aid of King Lothair III. of France (954–985), who in the summer of 978 made a sudden raid into Lorraine, marched straight to Aix, and appeared there so suddenly that Otto barely escaped. That very autumn the latter marched to Paris with an imposing army, and attacked the city from the side of Montmartre, though without success. But the war soon came to a standstill, for King Lothair had all that he could do to hold his own at home against Hugh of Francia. In order to deprive the latter of his alliance with the Germans, Lothair held a conference with Otto in 980 at Chiers, and there relinquished his claim to Lorraine. The king's brother, Charles, received southern Lorraine from the emperor as a fief. Otto was already bound for Italy, where great religious and political interests were at stake; for in that

country, too, the Bavarian wars led all the opponents of the imperial power to think that the opportunity had come for shattering it.

The disorder in the Eternal City, which Otto the Great had sternly repressed, broke out again. The successor of John XIII., Benedict VI., who had been confirmed in office by Otto I. in 972, lost first his power, and then his life, through an insurrection of a faction of Roman nobles under Crescentius. His unworthy successor, Boniface VII., escaped to Constantinople. The imperial party now once more raised one of their number, Benedict VII., to the papal chair. Meanwhile the Arabs were extending their power in Lower Italy, and were helped in this by the hostility between the Greeks and Pandulf of Capua. Thus all the foes of the empire of the Ottos were with one accord leagued for a renewed attack upon it, when in November, 980, Otto II. appeared south of the Alps. The emperor had gone no farther than Ravenna, when Benedict VII., who had been obliged to give way before Crescentius, met him as a fugitive. But when Otto appeared before Rome at Easter of 981, the people submitted willingly. Crescentius entered a monastery, and the emperor had no difficulty in re-establishing his authority on the basis of the system that had been instituted by Otto I. He then hurried southwards, in order to wrest from the Greeks and Arabs his wife's inheritance in Lower Italy. He was aided by Landulf and Pandulf II., the sons and successors of Pandulf of Capua and Benevento, who had died not long before. At first fortune favored Otto. The most important strongholds fell into his hands; and he even won in the summer of 982, near Crotone, a victory which seemed to crush the strength of his adversaries. But the excessive eagerness with which he strove to utilize it proved ruinous to him. On July 13, 982, he plunged with a small force into the mountains near the Calabrian coast,—the place is uncertain, but an account of later origin, though not improbable in itself, fixes it at Squillace,—and attacked the Arabs. He found, too late, that he was engaging not a mere scouring-party, but the main force of the enemy. In spite of their heroic resistance, the Germans were defeated. In order to escape capture, Otto was compelled to throw himself into the sea, and try to save himself by swimming. A Greek fishing-boat picked him up and brought him — for luckily he was not recognized, but was taken for one of the imperial retainers — to Rossano, a coast-town which was still held by his men, and which he succeeded in reaching safely.

Nevertheless, the battle of Squillace had the worst of results. All that Otto had gained by the war was lost, and Calabria had to be left to the Greeks and Arabs. The impression which the defeat made in the other parts of Italy was bad. In Rome, to which Otto now hastily returned, his opponents revolted with renewed boldness. He could not encounter them immediately, for he was threatened by serious dangers in the rear. A national agitation began in Lombardy, where under the lead of the flourishing municipalities the people were arming themselves to shake off the yoke of the German barbarians. If they succeeded, Otto's connections with Germany would be cut off; and he would find himself, with the remnants of his army, without the possibility of obtaining re-enforcements, in the midst of a rebellious country, where religious and political zeal and national hatred were exciting his foes to vie with one another in energy. But in that case the disaster would certainly not be confined to Italy. The successful revolt in the south would have found imitators in the north; and Henry the Quarrelsome and his old comrades and secret partisans would soon have stood in arms, supported by Slavs, Danes, and Bohemians. Otto II. fully appreciated the critical nature of the situation, and recognized that everything was now at stake. The measures which he took to avert the danger, and preserve what he had already attained, show us in the most brilliant light his greatness as a statesman, his political insight, and his energy. He renounced the ambitious plans which he had just been pursuing in Lower Italy, and which had in view the arming of western Christendom against Islam, and with soberness and self-denial placed himself upon the hard basis of the stern reality. In Upper Italy, where he held a central position, in equal readiness for attack and defence on the north and on the south, he assembled the powers of the empire.

In June, 983, he gathered at a brilliant diet the imperial family and the spiritual and temporal lords of both kingdoms. Besides Theophano, there appeared on this occasion his mother, Adelheid, and his sister, Matilda, the abbess of the nunnery of Quedlinburg, who was versed in matters of state. At the head of the German princes came his nephew Otto, duke of Swabia and Bavaria; but the latter died prematurely during the diet, and was bitterly mourned by the emperor. In order to relieve the agitation prevailing in Germany, and conciliate the opposition, Otto made some concessions. Bavaria was to be restored to Henry the Quarrelsome, who

had already once possessed it, and now united it to Carinthia and



FIG. 73. — Coin of Otto III. and Adelheid. Obv.: In the field a Cross with the letters ODDO disposed between the arms. Legend: † DI IGR-A † REX. Rev.: A crowned head. Legend: OTTO REX ADELHEIDA.

the March of Verona. Conrad, a cousin of the deceased Duke Otto, received Swabia. But the way in which Otto now gave expression to the principle that Germany and Italy belonged together was new, and was characteristic of his point of view. Without regard to the national differences, and the political separation between the two countries, the Italian and German nobles, at Otto's request, jointly elected his three-year-old son by Theophano to be their king. This took place in Verona. The child was then intrusted to the faithful Willegis of Mayence (975–1011), who was to conduct him over the Alps, and have him crowned at Aix (Fig. 73). The emperor made his mother, Adelheid, regent of Italy.

He himself wished, after the threatened catastrophe had been prevented, to make a new expedition to the south, repair the loss occasioned by his defeat at Squillace, reconquer Lower Italy, and fulfil the supreme duty of a Roman emperor by resuming the great struggle against Islam. The attack was to be made by sea as well as by land. But here difficulties arose at once. Venice refused the aid of her fleet, upon which Otto had counted. He undertook to force her to grant his wish, but the attack which he made upon the island-city from the landward side proved unsuccessful. This failure did not increase his reputation nor his prospects of victory in the south. However, the emperor now turned to Rome, and appointed John XIV. as a successor to Benedict VII., who had just died. Then came evil tidings from Germany. While Otto was planning to subdue the Byzantines and Mohammedans, and plant the cross in Sicily, Christianity in the German border-countries was sinking under the blows of heathenism. The Danes and Wends were in full revolt. Havelberg, Brandenburg, and Hamburg sank in ruins; and many of Otto's religious foundations were destroyed. And who could tell how far the tempest of the heathen reaction was still to rage?

Otto II. was now placed in a serious dilemma. It was impossible for him to save both the south and the northeast at once. Either Lower Italy and the imperial policy had to be given up, or all that had been taken from the Slavs in long decades must be sacrificed; and in the latter case the future of Germany would also be sacrificed. The overwrought emperor could not bring himself to submit to the inevitable, and make the necessary choice. In spite of the illness into which he fell, he was unceasingly busy with preparations of every kind for attacking in the south and defending in the north. In his impatience he wished to force himself to recover, and used in excess the remedies prescribed for him by the physicians. This aggravated his illness, and on December 7, 983, he succumbed at Rome to the increasing violence of the disease. He was only twenty-eight years of age. His remains were placed in an antique sarcophagus of marble, and deposited in the entrance-hall of St. Peter's.

The early death of Otto II. was a momentous event for Germany. His centralizing policy had aroused bitter discontent in all quarters. Even at the decease of Arnulf the situation had not been so critical as now. Henry the Quarrelsome, released from confinement at Utrecht on the news of Otto's death, thought the time had come to secure the sovereignty itself, instead of the regency, for the younger branch of the Ludolfings. He seized the person of the young king, and presented himself in Saxony as a candidate for the throne. But he formed alliances not merely with Bohemia and Poland, but also with the Slavs and with France. Such a policy alienated the Saxons, who had just suffered so much from the Slavs, and drove them to side with the lawful heir to the crown. That this was the only course which could serve the interests of Germany was shown by the fact that even Lothair III. of France raised a claim to be appointed regent, hoping to pave the way to getting possession of Lorraine. But the champions of legitimacy from the very nature of the situation had no other candidate for the regency than the widowed empress Theophano. Although scruples might be felt even in her case because she was a foreigner, they were silenced in view of the peril which menaced the empire and the royal house. Accordingly, both the Bavarians under Henry the younger and the Swabians under Duke Conrad sided with the Saxons, while the influence of the archbishop of Mayence was enough to win over Franconia to the same party. Lorraine, too, withstood the allurements of its western neighbors. Henry the Quarrelsome con-

vinced himself that his ambitious efforts had no prospect of success, and opened negotiations. In June, 984, at Rara, near Worms, he gave up the young king to Adelheid and Theophano, who had hastened thither from Italy. In return he received only the promise that he should be reinstated in his dukedom on condition that he behaved properly in future.

The Greek Theophano (Fig. 74), a woman of extraordinary intellect and lofty character, now held the reins of government for seven years. Although a foreigner, she had become wonderfully conversant with the circumstances of Germany, and solved with truly statesmanlike caution and energy, and with splendid success, the momentous problem which confronted her. She deserves especial credit because, although her descent and her interest necessarily attracted her toward Lower Italy, she exercised self-denial, and did not concentrate all her power upon Italy and the extension of the imperial sovereignty. She allowed the entire strength of the Saxon people, in particular, to resist the danger which was threatening the empire from the east. Thus the German colonies on the border were saved, chiefly through the fierce valor of the warlike Margrave Ekbert of Meissen. The friendly relation which was at this time formed with Poland helped to bring about this result. The regent also wisely strained a point to conciliate the enemies of the Saxon house at home. She restored Henry the Quarrelsome to the duchy of Bavaria, and so won over the younger line of the Ludolfings.

But meanwhile Theophano did not lose sight of Italy. In that country, also, her temperate yet energetic rule maintained the imperial rights without any essential diminution, although a certain hostility seems to have existed between her and Adelheid, who resided in Pavia. But even Theophano could not restrain the savagery of the Roman nobility and clergy. In the year 984 Boniface VII., who had previously fled to Constantinople, returned; John XIV. was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and was put to death after several months of cruel imprisonment. Boniface himself died after a year's time, an object of abhorrence even to his own partisans. Amid this confusion the young Crescentius, son of him who had retired into a cloister to escape Otto II., succeeded in making himself master of the city. The new pope, John XV. (985-996), was his tool, and was stained with all the vices of the time. Thus affairs at Rome relapsed into a condition like that which had prevailed before Otto I. interfered. The Roman church appeared to have fallen



FIG. 74. — Ivory tablet, forming part of a diptych or of a book-cover, with an allegorical representation of the marriage of Otto II., emperor in the west, and Theophano, niece of Zimisce. The figures are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions. Below the emperor's feet is represented the giver of this tablet, with the words (translated) 'Lord, help thy servant John Ch. . . .' Byzantine work of the tenth century. Paris, Cluny Museum. (From Louandre.)

into decay; and wherever people wished to preserve to the religious life the possibility of thriving anew and exercising a salutary influence upon the intellectual and moral civilization of the age, it seemed to be actually a duty for them to free themselves from the degenerate papacy. In France, especially, many persons were of this opinion; because in that country the political and dynastical feuds which prevailed revealed the degradation of the church with unusual clearness. The show of power which the Carolingian house kept up had come to an end with the death of Louis V., 'the Sluggard' (*le fainéant*), as the common people called him, in 987. Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims, an illegitimate son of Lothair III., had made himself especially prominent as an opponent of the house of Capet, which had come to power with the accession of King Hugh (987-996) to the throne. Arnulf was deposed by the king and his clerical partisans, and this gave John XV. an occasion to interpose with threats. Meanwhile Theophano shrewdly refrained from the interference which had been expected from her. In 991, at a council in Rheims, the majority of the French bishops brought formal charges against Rome, and tried to prove by enumerating all the horrid crimes that had been committed there since the time of John XII. that Rome had forfeited her primacy, and that they were justified in renouncing it. The execution of this threat would have destroyed the importance of the Roman see, and the latter in its fall would have drawn along with it the Roman empire which was based upon it. Hence Germany and the Saxon house were interested in these proceedings, and were justified in interfering. It was most unfortunate for Germany that this step could not be taken under the direction of the wise and far-sighted Theophano, who immediately began to prepare for it. The diet which she called together at Easter of 991 in Quedlinburg (Fig. 75) was a brilliant proof of her supremacy. Not only did the Saxon nobles and the princes of the realm appear almost to a man, but Mieczyslaw, the new duke of Poland, and Marquis Hugh of Tuscany, did her reverence on that occasion. The moment for vigorous action on the part of the German nation seemed now to have arrived, when the empress-regent died, on June 15, 991, at Nimwegen. She was a rare woman, whose greatness and merit people learned to appreciate from the void which she left by her death.

The regency had to be continued, for the young king was now only eleven years old; but the change of regents exercised an injurious influence on the position of the imperial government.

Theophano had carried on the administration mainly in person, as her father-in-law and her husband had done, but with the advice of a small circle of trusted friends, who were chiefly bishops. But now the temporal lords demanded a share in the authority, and it could not be denied them. Accordingly Empress Adelheid was appointed, not so much to be regent as to preside over the council of regency. To this body belonged, beside Willegis of Mayence, Duke



FIG. 15. The Castle and Church at Quedlinburg.

Bernhard of Saxony and Duke Conrad of Swabia. Afterwards Henry, the son and successor of Henry the Quarrelsome of Bavaria, was also admitted to it. The Abbess Matilda of Quedlinburg, sister of Otto II., exercised much influence, especially on German affairs, and for a while governed from her cell as regent north of the Alps. This arrangement diminished the royal authority, and weakened the whole framework of the empire, as was soon apparent from the increased independence of the dukes. The dukedom lost

entirely the character of a mere official post, which Otto the Great had tried to give it; and the same change soon took place in the office of count, and at last even in that of bishop. The disorganization of the empire went on rapidly. The heathen Wends savagely assailed the Elbe frontier.

Many people no doubt expected that this condition of things would be improved as soon as the young king himself assumed power. At all events, those who had charge of him were not remiss in preparing him for his future duties; but as the result showed, they did not succeed in conducting the boy's development



FIG. 76. — Imperial Seal of Otto III. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

along normal lines. Otto III., 'the Wonder of the World' (Figs. 76, 77), was the son of a Saxon who had early laid aside the ancient peculiarities of his people, and of a Greek woman. His grandmother was a Burgundian, who had become accustomed to life in Italy. Thus the boy had absorbed too much of the Greek, Italian, and Romance elements, while the Saxon character (and hence the German also) was alien to him. Nev-

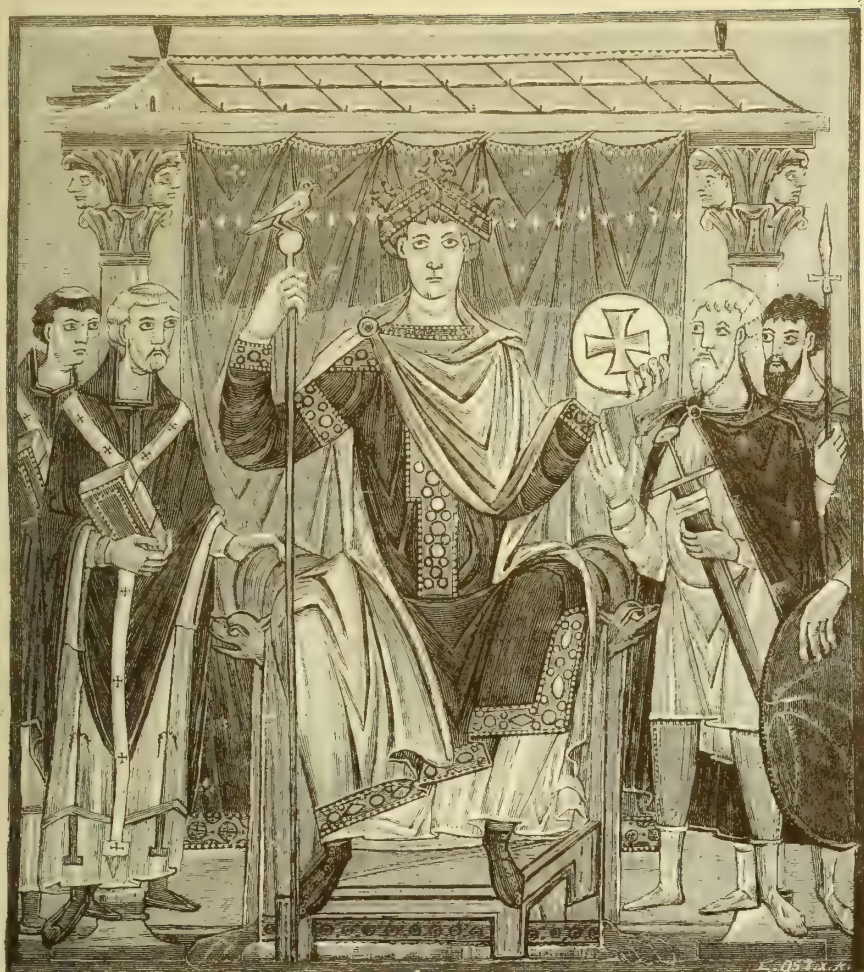
ertheless, his guardians had wished in educating him to give the German side of his nature the proper development. He was brought up in Saxony, under the direction of a Saxon, Count Hoiko. But he seems to have been repelled by the harsh and uncultivated character of the Saxon nobles and the half-heathenish coarseness of the Saxon people. Next to Willegis of Mayence, the person who took the most important part in his education was Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (993-1022), who was also a Saxon, and was a partisan of the Cluniacs. This man seems to have fostered in his pupil the inclination to religious meditation, to painful anxiety about his spiritual welfare, and to asceticism. The Byzantine element in Otto's character, which had been inherited from his mother, also



Dedicatory picture in an Evangeliary of

The emperor on his throne in a great hall, with representatives of the Church and personifications of countries

History of All Nations, Vol. VIII., page 273.



Emperor Otto III. Munich, Royal Library.

the secular powers on either side. Four women—Roma, Gallia, Germania, Slavonia—as
 people, approach with offerings.

exercised a strong influence upon him through his Greek teacher, the Calabrian Johannes, who was rewarded with the abbacy of Nonantula, and afterwards with the bishopric of Piacenza. Thus Otto III. grew up a stranger in the world which was to be his field of action, a despiser of the people the destiny of which was intrusted to his hands. He was unable to comprehend the conditions by which he was surrounded, and with which he was to reckon,—a youthful fanatic who lived in a world of the imagination. In his self-conceit he believed that it was his mission to heal the world of its ills, and to raise it from the midst of its imperfection to the height of his own glorious ideal. The result was that in six years he undid the beneficent work of three generations.

In 996 Otto took the reins of government. Straightway he proceeded to Italy, more like a pilgrim at the head of a band of penitents than a warlike German king with his comrades in arms. In Pavia the Lombards swore allegiance and did homage to him. In Ravenna he received the news of the death of John XV., and the Romans besought him to appoint a successor. Thus every



FIG. 77. — Royal Seal of Otto III. (From an impression in the British Museum.)

thing obeyed him. Otto's belief in the irresistibility of his power and the boundlessness of his rights was strengthened, and his claims now passed all limits. Hence he forthwith treated the Romans and the church in a far more arbitrary manner than his father at the height of his power had dared to do. He appointed Bruno of Carinthia (son of Otto of Carinthia, and grandson of Conrad the Red and Liutgard), a partisan of the Cluniacs, to be pope under the name of Gregory V. (996–999). From his hand Otto received the imperial crown on May 25, 996. Thus a new kind of league was established between the papacy and the empire. (Cf. PLATE XV.) Outwardly the former appeared to be subordinate; but in reality the highest temporal power made itself subservient to the Roman See, as being the highest intellectual and moral power on earth.

Otto's intimate personal relations with Gregory V. seemed, indeed, to remove the bounds between the two dominions, and unite them both in one universal empire, which was at once temporal and spiritual. The degrading subjection in which the church had so long been held by dissolute women and insolent tyrants was at once forgotten; and, with the restoration of her outward dignity, the noble spirit that had once animated her was revived. The sovereignty of the church was again sternly enforced without respect of persons. The decrees of the council that had been held at Rheims, in 991, were annulled; the learned Gerbert of Aurillac, although he was closely connected with the Saxon royal house, was deposed from the office of archbishop, to which King Hugh had raised him in the stead of Arnulf of Rheims, and the latter returned to his old position. Severe ecclesiastical censures were pronounced against King Robert of France, who had given offence by a bad marriage; and Bishop Adalbert of Prague, one of Otto's fanatical friends, who had left his see, and taken up his residence in Rome, received an admonition to return to Bohemia, and devote himself to the duties of his office.

The Romans endured all this quietly as long as the young emperor with his Germans stayed within their walls; but he had scarce turned his back when the discontent that had long been fermenting broke forth, and in the spring of 997 a new rebellion threw everything into confusion. Crescentius again stood at its head; and the discontented clergy set up against the German Gregory V. an antipope in the person of the emperor's former tutor, the Calabrian John XVI. But in February of 998, Otto III. appeared before Rome, which did not venture to offer resistance. John XVI., who had fled, was captured, and was cruelly mutilated by having his eyes put out, and his tongue torn out by the roots. Crescentius, who had thrown himself into the fortress of St. Angelo, was forced to surrender, and was beheaded. Then the emperor and Gregory V. held a council, which deposed the mutilated antipope. He was then placed upon an ass, with his face toward the tail, and was conducted through the city amid scorn and insults. The imperial papacy celebrated its restoration by a reign of terror without parallel. Rome bowed in mute obedience to Gregory's zeal for reform, and it seemed as though the regeneration of the church was destined to be carried out without opposition.

But with all this the young emperor's boundless aspirations

were not yet satisfied. From the successes of the papacy, which were thus becoming of increased importance, he derived only new and more far-reaching claims for its ally, the empire. This mischievous habit of mind, which finally developed into a monomania, was promoted by a man who came into close relations with Otto at this time, Gerbert of Aurillac. This person soon took his place by Otto's side as pope, and flattered his dreams of universal sovereignty far more than Gregory V. had done. Gerbert was a native of the south of France. He had received a monastic education in his native city, and had then resided in Barcelona, and with the learned Bishop Hatto of Vich. There he had obtained a view of the rich intellectual life of the Spanish Arabs, and had acquired knowledge in departments of science which at that time were generally closed to men of his class. Subsequently he had continued his studies at Rheims, which was then an important seat of learning. In Italy he became acquainted with Otto II. in 980, and received from him the abbey of Bobbio, which had been founded by St. Columban. But there he found many enemies, and this led him to return to Rheims. After the death of his royal patron he defended the cause of legitimacy with great vigor in Lorraine. Moreover, he had played an important, though somewhat questionable, part in the disputes of Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims with Hugh and Robert, the first French kings of the house of Capet. At first he had sided with Arnulf, but was afterwards appointed successor to the latter, and was then deposed by Gregory V. In order to avert a worse fate he had hastened to Italy, and there had become acquainted with Otto III. The latter soon afterward summoned him to the Saxon court. Gerbert, who was ambitious, and had been sorry to leave the see of Rheims, was made archbishop of Ravenna by Otto, at the Roman council of 998. Less than a year afterwards Gregory V., the first German who had occupied the chair of St. Peter, died; and the emperor placed Gerbert at the head of the Roman church. The ideals with which both of these enthusiasts were filled were now to be realized on a magnificent scale. What part each of them had in these projects cannot now be determined; but in observing their remarkable attempts to remodel church and state, one forms the impression that the greater zeal, the more violent fanaticism, and the more impetuous craving after a future colored by the imagination, belonged to the emperor: while Gerbert was wiser, but, not being free from priestly selfishness, confirmed

Otto in his unpractical policy instead of restraining him, because that policy promised to increase the glory of the church and the power of the pope in the highest degree.

Gerbert styled himself Silvester II. (999–1003), and must not the emperor who stood by the side of such a pope appear a second Constantine? Accordingly Silvester gives Otto the title of the Roman emperors, ‘Imperator Caesar Augustus.’ The latter carries a seal with the inscription “*Renovatio imperii*,” i.e., “the renewal of the empire,” in the Roman sense of the word, in which it denoted sovereignty over the whole earth. This idea had been unknown even to Otto II. In spite of the broader significance which he had given the imperial dignity, he had still clung to its German origin, and, like Charlemagne, had set it before himself as the emperor’s chief duty to fight against the unbelievers. The alteration which now took place in the imperial idea was un-German, and was due to reminiscences of Rome, which even in want and misery and barbarism looked upon the Eternal City as theoretically the seat of universal sovereignty. In the mind of Silvester II. these reminiscences were combined with hierarchical ideas of a mystical nature. He looked upon the authority of the bishops, which had been established by Christ, as superior to all other powers, even those of the temporal princes; and those who held it were to be men of blameless life. But the empire was raised to the same level, being essentially one with the papacy, and as it were a different manifestation of the one supreme power ordained by God. This power acted as mediator between heaven and earth, and hence was clothed with the mysterious symbols of a high-priesthood. For Otto saw in the Roman empire, as renewed by him, the last universal kingdom, which according to St. Augustine was to prepare the way for the end of all things and the millennium. He thought that he was responsible for the welfare of the world; and as the priests prepared themselves by prayer and fasting for the performance of their sacred functions, so he, too, wished by blameless living and constant penances to make himself worthy to be the chosen vessel of divine grace. He often retired suddenly to engage in pious exercises with the devout hermit, Romoald, who lived at Peraeum, near Ravenna, and with Nilus of Gaeta, who stood in the odor of sanctity.

A surprising change also took place in the external symbols of the imperial dominion. Rome had been selected as the seat of the universal sovereignty which was jointly vested in the empire and

the papacy; and the 'servant of the apostles' purposed to reside henceforth in a splendid palace on the Aventine. The ceremonials of the Byzantine court were introduced with fanciful additions. Every piece of the foreign garb which Otto assumed, instead of the Frankish dress that had previously been in use, received a mysterious significance. He ordered himself to be addressed as 'emperor of emperors,' and to be given the high-sounding surnames of Germanicus, Romanus, and Italicus. The court, which heretofore had not differed essentially from that of a great Saxon nobleman, was now thronged with a crowd of officials, carefully graded after the Byzantine fashion, and bearing strange foreign titles. Rome received a new constitution, in which the mystic number seven had a place. Seven imperial judges were to have charge of the city, and pronounce decisions according to the code of Justinian, which was to be in force throughout the world. These judges were to take part in the election of the pope and the ordination of the emperor; and the two highest of them were even to govern, jointly with the emperor himself. What idea of the future of the empire Otto's half-crazed imagination had really formed we do not know. But a hereditary sovereignty would not have been compatible with such strange modifications; and one may suspect that the emperor was henceforth to be chosen, like the pope, by a semi-ecclesiastical process of election. For the emperors were no longer to be merely temporal rulers, any more than Otto himself.

But this new system of universal government bore within itself the germs of decay. It left out of sight the national basis of the German royalty, nay, rather, it systematically undermined it. This fact alienated the Saxons especially from the degenerate scion of the Ludolfings. The historian Thietmar of Merseburg subsequently characterized Otto's conduct as a sin which only God could pardon. One who had wished to destroy the work of the Saxon kings could not have acted otherwise than this fanatical youth had done. He had long been a stranger north of the Alps; but the death of the regent of Germany, the Abbess Matilda of Quedlinburg, followed by that of Empress Adelheid, summoned him once more to the north. On this visit he made a pilgrimage to Gnesen, to the grave of his friend Adalbert of Prague, who had lost his life in 997 as a missionary among the heathen Prussians. Otto established an archbishopric at Gnesen with seven suffragan bishoprics, and by so doing injured Magdeburg, his grandfather's pet creation, loosened the religious tie

that bound the Poles to the empire, and encouraged the efforts of that ambitious Slavic people to gain political independence. Silvester II. was guilty of a similar error in sending a crown to King Stephen of Hungary, who had gone over to Christianity, and in aiding him to found an archbishopric in Gran. Thus the future of Germany was sacrificed on two sides. This intensified the opposition of the German bishops, most of whom feared severe injury from Silvester's zeal for reform. The parties were already quarrelling fiercely. A dispute about the standing of the nunnery of Gandersheim led to a violent conflict between Bernward of Hildesheim, an adherent of the new, strict school, and Willegis of Mayence, the leading champion of the old system. The pope and the emperor took sides against Willegis, who was suspended from office, and summoned to answer for his conduct at Rome. Thereupon he refused to obey, and with him rose the German bishops almost to a man. They did not heed the summons to a council at Todi. The league between sovereign and church, which had been the chief support of the German kingdom since the times of Otto the Great, was thus dissolved.

Otto had returned to Italy after opening the tomb of Charlemagne at Aix. He was now lodged again in his palace on the Aventine, but wherever he turned his eyes reigned confusion and disorganization. In Germany people were already thinking of choosing another king, and had in mind Henry of Bavaria, the son of Henry the Quarrelsome. In Italy, too, the signs of an impending national rising became more frequent. Lower Italy revolted; and Rome, which in February of 1001 had brought Otto into great danger by a sudden insurrection, but had remained unpunished, took advantage of his absence to commit new treason. Venice refused to supply him with ships for an attack upon Sicily. In restless haste Otto moved to and fro, striving to check the threatening catastrophe. From time to time he hid himself again in solitude in order to prepare himself by pious exercises for new exploits; and no doubt he sometimes entertained thoughts of retiring from the world altogether. Only three German bishops appeared at the council which he had summoned to meet at Todi. The German church deserted him at the critical point. But the obstinate resistance of the ungrateful Romans grieved him far more than all these things, for his whole system stood or fell with his dominion over the Eternal City. He thought, however, that he could carry out his policy successfully at Rome; and with this in view he hurried back from Todi to the

troops which he had left at Paterno, at the foot of Mount Soracte, to watch the capital. But he accomplished nothing, and even saw himself attacked by the Romans. His excitement brought on a fever; his strength quickly failed; and when re-enforcements at last arrived from Germany, so that he might have assumed the offensive, he was already past recovery. He faced death calmly, and prepared himself for his end with dignity. He made no disposal of the empire; he had become wholly alienated from it, and Germany was already on the point of forsaking him and defending itself. Hence he contented himself with delivering the royal insignia to Archbishop Heribert of Cologne. He died on January 23, 1002. His life had been wrecked by the irretrievable contradiction between his imagination, with its lofty ideals, and the hard reality of the actual situation. But, unfortunately, destiny had decreed that Germany and Italy should be involved in his misfortunes, and should atone for his errors.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RESTORATION OF THE GERMAN MONARCHY AND ROMAN EMPIRE BY HENRY II. AND CONRAD II.

(A.D. 1002-1039.)

ON the death of Otto III. the whole imperial structure, already tottering, fell at once in seemingly irremediable ruin. The national party in Italy rose immediately under Marquis Arduin of Ivrea, who was crowned king of Italy in February, 1002. In Rome Silvester maintained himself until his death in May, 1003, when Johannes Crescentius seized the power. His creatures, John XVII. (1003), John XVIII. (1003-1009), and Sergius IV. (1009-1012), successively filled the apostolic chair; and the papacy was reduced once more into base subjection. In Germany the mad policy of the emperor had estranged every one from the idea of a centralized monarchy. The Slavic marches were lost, and the mission work in that quarter destroyed. The conceptions of the unity of the empire and of an imperial policy based on that unity were as good as lost.

The question of the succession to the throne had been left open by the death of Otto without issue. Strictly speaking, there could scarcely be any question of an hereditary right to the crown. The moment had once more arrived when the German people was to make use of its privilege, and choose for its supreme head a man who seemed able to avert the dangers that were pressing upon the nation from every side. The Saxon candidate for the throne was Margrave Eckard of Meissen. He had done good service in defending the Saxons against the Slavs. Others thought of raising Duke Hermann II. of Swabia to the throne; while Henry of Bavaria, the son of Henry the Quarrelsome, who was now the head of the house of the Ludolfings, was a suitor for the crown, and urged that he had a kind of hereditary right to it. At first, however, he was unsuccessful. An interregnum ensued, and continued for some time. This time, as in previous cases, the question was decided by the attitude of the bishops, after Eckard of Meissen fell a victim to bloody private vengeance in April, 1002, at Pöhlde in the Harz.

Willegis of Mayence, in particular, urged them to remain faithful to the Ludolfing family. He and Bishop Burkhard of Worms (1002–1025) succeeded in bringing Bavaria, Franconia, and Lorraine to an agreement, in accordance with which they met in June of 1002 at Mayence, elected Duke Henry of Bavaria king, and caused him to be anointed and crowned. The Saxons afterwards acquiesced in what had been done, especially as Henry confirmed to them their ancient laws. The king won over the Thuringians by remitting the burdensome tax on swine. The Swabians, too, submitted to his rule.

The power of Henry II. (1002–1024) (Figs. 78, 79) was based upon compromise, and lacked the haughty independence which the dominion of his predecessors had enjoyed. Accordingly he proceeded with great caution during the first (and larger) part



FIGS. 78 and 79. — Coins of Henry II. (From Cappe.)

FIG. 78. — Obv. : In the field an A and Ω; above, a triangle; and below, an S. Legend: HENRICVS. Rev. : DAVANTRIA (Deventer in the Netherlands). In the field the cross with four globes.

FIG. 79. — Obv. : The open right hand, upon a band of bead ornament. RE-X on either side. Legend: HEINRCVS. Rev. : Cross with four globes. Legend: DAVENTRE.

of his reign. He voluntarily relinquished rights which would certainly have been disputed had he claimed them, and which he was not at first strong enough to enforce. The whole character of his rule as king reminds us of that of Henry I., with which it may also be compared in point of merit and achievement. For Henry II. checked the decay which invaded the empire at the death of Otto III. He prevented foreign foes from gaining further advantages at the expense of Germany, and so maintained for the empire on both sides of the Alps a position from which it could subsequently recover what it had lost, and make new conquests. Through his devotion to the cause of religious reform, he became the tool of an ecclesiastical party; and the latter rewarded him by canonizing him, and by surrounding him, even in historical accounts, with the borrowed halo of a saint, through which we

can scarcely discern anything of his laborious and painstaking, but highly meritorious government.

Henry II., like the preceding kings, had to struggle against the opposition of his own house. In general, he did not favor the rise of his own relatives to power, thereby exasperating in particular the brothers of his wife Kunigunde (PLATE XVI.). What people in after times called nepotism was entirely absent from his policy. He did not in general interfere with the hereditary tenure of the imperial fiefs. As the princes became more independent they began to exercise a stronger influence upon the government of the realm, which now underwent an alteration. The Ottos had only asked the advice of a few personal friends, and had not granted the princes, as such, any regular share in the business of state; but King Henry scarcely made a single important decision without assembling the princes in council, hearing their opinions, and making sure of their consent. The power of decision no longer rested with the king and his councils, but with the diets, which were held more and more frequently, and came to be an important political institution. The loss of strength which the kingdom thus suffered was made good only in part by the strict subjection in which the church continued to be held by the crown. The later accounts have drawn a one-sided picture of Henry II., to whom they have ascribed a whole series of religious virtues that he did not really possess. These they derived from his surname, 'the Saint,' or 'the Pious.' But he was far from being a servant of the church or a tool of the bishops. On the contrary, he maintained unimpaired against both the rights that Otto I. had acquired, and exercised those rights purely in the interest of the state. Like Otto, he appointed the bishops, who were merely religious officials of the realm, and made use of them as subjects who were under obligation to serve him, and of their estates as property of the realm which had only been lent to them. He pursued a similar policy toward the monks, and kept the abbeys of the kingdom in strict subjection, so that he might at any time be able to utilize their rich estates for public ends. The last king of the Saxon house bore the surname of 'the Pious' in a very different sense from that in which the feeble successor of Charlemagne had worn it. Henry justified it only by the favor which he showed the strict reform movement of the Cluniacs, and which much annoyed the German bishops. This was the principal cause of the



Dedicatory picture in a copy of the Life of Emperor Henry II. and his wife Kunigunde.

In the lower field the emperor and empress are represented offering to the enthroned Christ a model of Bamberg Cathedral. About 1150. (Bamberg, City Library.)

hostility that arose between Henry and the German clergy toward the close of his reign.

When one takes into account the difficulties which this state of things at home produced in the whole foreign policy, what Henry II. accomplished seems really important and meritorious. The aggressive Poles, under the powerful Boleslas III., were held in check, while in Italy positive successes were gained.

The unanimity with which the national party in Italy had arisen against the German rule after the death of Otto III. had soon vanished. Henry II. had scarcely begun to feel secure upon the throne when the opponents of Arduin besought him for aid. As early as 1004 the German monarch made an expedition to the south. By making a circuit he escaped Arduin, who obstructed his way near Verona; and on May 14 he was elected king at Pavia, — an important innovation, as the Ottos had based their claims to Italy on the right of conquest. Tidings of commotions in Germany compelled Henry to make a speedy return, and he was obliged to give up his designs upon Rome.

In Rome, after the death of Johannes Crescentius in 1012, power fell into the hands of the Counts of Tusculum. Three brothers of this family assumed, one (Theophylact) the papal chair under the name of Benedict VIII. (1012–1023); the two others, Alberic and Romanus, the temporal power, with the titles of senator and consul. Benedict VIII., in spite of the illegal origin of his power, and notwithstanding his own worldly past, took a course which met with the approval of all strictly religious people, especially the Cluniaes. In this Henry sympathized with him; and the pope and the king were soon in the closest possible alliance, and engaged in reforming the degenerate church according to the views of the Cluniaes.

Accordingly, in 1013, when quiet had been restored in Germany, and the Polish war had been temporarily closed by a truce, Henry marched across the Alps for the second time. He found a kind reception. In Ravenna he met Benedict VIII., and at a council, in which Abbot Odilo of Cluny participated, they consulted about the reform of the church. Then they proceeded to Rome; and there, on February 14, 1014, Henry received the imperial crown from the hand of the pope. The alliance with the Counts of Tusculum showed itself equally advantageous from a secular and a religious point of view. Henry attached them to himself firmly,

and strengthened them in their position. So even after his return home order was maintained in the Eternal City. Italy was as though transformed; in Lombardy the national party had laid down its arms, and Henry had the church of that country entirely at his command. He placed over the bishoprics of Lombardy German ecclesiastics, who were in many cases partisans of reform. A new spirit of order and discipline gained the upper hand in the church, and the co-operation of the emperor with the vigorous Benedict VIII. gave a prospect of her peaceable rejuvenation. In 1020 the pope himself came to Germany, and consecrated the cathedral at Bamberg at the emperor's desire. Duke Melus appeared at this time in Bamberg. Under him the inhabitants of Bari, in Lower Italy, who had been forsaken by the Byzantines, had tried to defend themselves against the Arabs. Benedict VIII. had helped them by sending to their aid Norman knights who had visited Rome as pilgrims. Melus now came to seek the assistance of the emperor. He died, however, in Bamberg. But Henry willingly accepted this pretext for interfering again in Italian affairs.

In the autumn of 1021 Henry marched across the Alps for the third time, taking the way of the Brenner Pass. From Ravenna he moved southward with 60,000 men in three corps,—one (left) under his own command, a second (centre) under the patriarch Poppo of Aquileia, while a third (right) was led by Pilgrim, archbishop of Cologne. Capua, Naples, and other cities were taken, and organized as imperial marches against the Arabs, a part being assigned to the Norman knights. At the close of 1022 the emperor returned to Germany.

Thus Henry's victories brought also an increase of strength to the church, and this facilitated the execution of the pope's plans of reform. The emperor, while he did not yield any of the rights of the state, acknowledged the moral authority of the church over the civil power. In conjunction with him, Benedict VIII. now wished to remodel the German church according to the ideas of the Cluniacs. But the German clergy were still averse to this; and, when threatened with compulsion, they openly rose in their own defence. At their head stood Aribio of Mayence, a man of imperious, tyrannical, and worldly character. The German bishops were not content with merely resisting the innovations of the Cluniacs, but attempted to destroy the whole supremacy of the bishop of Rome, which was based on the decretals of Pseudo-Isidore, and to restore the authority of

the metropolitan bishops to its old position. In 1022, at a provincial synod in Seligenstadt, Aribio and his suffragans decreed the restoration of the synodal courts of the bishops, and forbade the custom of appealing to Rome, by which ecclesiastical discipline had gradually been taken out of the bishops' hands. Not only Eberhard, the archbishop of Bamberg, but even Bruno of Augsburg (1008–1029), the emperor's own brother, took part in this synod. Henry, who had just returned from Italy, called a national council. We do not know what course its proceedings took, but it certainly failed to make the hoped-for impression. The opposition of the bishops to the pope and the emperor soon became still more pronounced. The conflict threatened to become fatal to both. As Henry II. was in league with Benedict VIII. and the Cluniacs, the German clergy turned from him as well as from them. Foreign interests, which sprang from the emperor's relations with Burgundy and France, also contributed to this movement. As King Rudolf III. of Burgundy, the brother of Henry's mother Gisela, had no children, the emperor had early laid claim to the right of succession, and had secured its recognition by treaty. The emperor now sought to find in the strict religious spirit which animated the clergy of Burgundy, the native country of the Cluniacs, a means of support against the German bishops. He also planned to bring the French church over to his side; and with this end in view he held a personal interview with King Robert of France in the summer of 1023. Henry was purposing to summon an ecumenical council which should carry out the reformation of the church according to the ideas of the Cluniacs; i.e., he meant to call the churches of Italy, Burgundy, and France to his aid against the German church, and so to make the latter yield to the authority of the decretals of Pseudo-Isidore, and become subject to Rome. He wished at the same time, by his agreements with Robert of France, to pave the way for the establishment of a universal peace; but this was obviously only a means of carrying out in Germany his projects of religious reform. Benedict VIII. also took sides in favor of Henry's schemes. Aribio of Mayence was deprived of the honor of wearing the pallium, and measures were instituted for deposing him from office. He did not fail to respond to this attack; in the spring of 1024 he and his suffragans held a council at Höchst. He had summoned it as a national council, but the other provinces of the church held themselves aloof. Yet the solemn protests against the encroachments of Rome

that were decreed on this occasion made all the deeper impression because the emperor, too, now proceeded to visit the refractory churches with secular penalties, in order to reduce them to subjection by diminishing their possessions. Meanwhile Benedict VIII. had died on April 4, 1024. He was succeeded by his brother Romanus, the 'senator,' who now assumed the title of Pope John XIX. This man appreciated none but worldly interests, and immediately gave up the cause of reform. Aribo and his partisans now had nothing more to fear. The papacy relinquished the universal character to which it had just raised itself, and voluntarily confined its sphere of action to the city and the papal state. This was a reverse

for Henry II., and he was now left to make terms as best he could with the German bishops. This would certainly not have been possible without heavy sacrifices on the part of the crown; for the German clergy had every reason to protect themselves against similar dangers in future by insisting upon reliable security for their own safety.

But Henry II. was spared this humiliation. He was already suffering from ill health; and the collapse of his hopes, and wrecking



FIG. 80. — Royal Seal of Henry II.
(From an impression in the British Museum.)

of his religious and political system, must have been a severe blow to him. His strength rapidly failed; and on July 13, 1024, his life came to an end in the palace of Grona, near Göttingen. He was buried in Bamberg. Nine years afterwards the last resting-place of his pious consort Kunigunde was prepared at his side. The monument, adorned with likenesses of both, which is still admired in the cathedral of Bamberg, is a work of the sixteenth century, the original one perished at the burning of the church in 1081. (PLATE XVII.)

Henry II. (Fig. 80) had died none too soon. What hostility had been in store for him is shown by the complete revolution which now took place in the German policy under the influence and leadership of the German clergy. Its express object was to destroy the life-work of the last Saxon emperor, and make its

PLATE XVII



Tombstone of Emperor Henry II. and his Queen
Kunigunde.

In the cathedral at Bamberg. Work of Tylmann Riemenschneider
(1460-1531).

future restoration impossible. In contrast to the high-church tendency which Henry II. had wished to impart to the realm by compulsion, the future of the empire was now purposely decided on purely secular principles, which were hostile to those of the Cluniacs. The German church did not wish to be weaned from the things of this world. She wished to retain her rich possessions undiminished, and was unwilling to give up the political rôle to which she had become habituated since the time of Otto I.; for in this rôle lay her advantage over the churches of Italy and France, and upon it were based the greatness and importance of her position.

The election of a king was undertaken from this point of view. At the same time there arose the important question of calling a new family to the throne. Yet this time, also, ties of relationship seem to have been taken into account to a certain extent. From the very outset there were only two candidates who came under consideration, namely, Conrad, son of the Franconian Count Henry, eldest son of Otto of Carinthia; and Conrad, son of Duke Conrad of Carinthia, younger son of Otto of Carinthia. They were descended from a side branch of the Saxon house, being great-grandsons of Conrad of Lorraine and Liutgard, the daughter of Otto I. The Franconian Conrad's known hostility to Henry II., and aversion to the reforms of the Cluniacs, now led the German bishops to consider him the most suitable candidate for the throne. He was a sober, practical man of stern and soldierly character, averse to all fanaticism; and accustomed to judge men and things solely from a worldly point of view. He strove, in a purely matter-of-fact way, to take the circumstances in which he was placed by their most favorable side. In all this he stood in sharp contrast to the late king. His competitor for the throne was his cousin, Conrad the younger, a son of Conrad of Carinthia, who had the support of Lorraine. But since it was for the interest of all to make unanimous choice, when the princes and nobles, with their retainers, assembled in September, 1024, at Kamba on the Rhine, they quickly came to an understanding. The younger Conrad was shrewd enough to yield to the inevitable.

In spite of his unanimous election, Conrad II. (1024-1039), the first sovereign of the Franconian or Salian house, had, like his predecessors, to contend with every kind of annoyance. Aribio of Mayence, who crowned the newly chosen monarch, nevertheless re-

fused to grant his wife Gisela, whose marriage was assailed by the church, the honor of coronation. But Aribo's rival, Pilgrim of Cologne, won a firm place in the king's favor by crowning her. The Lorrainers refused Conrad II. their obedience (though the people almost everywhere else did him willing homage), and did not submit until 1025. But after that time the internal peace of the empire was not again seriously disturbed under Conrad's reign. For now the interests of Germany were again fully recognized, and the antagonism which the predominance of ecclesiastical interests, and of strivings after universal empire, had introduced into German affairs, disappeared. This change also improved the situation of the empire toward its neighbors. Conrad concluded a peace with Canute the Great, the ruler of Denmark, Norway, and England, by which he gave up to the latter the territory which had once formed the march of Schleswig, but which, in reality, had long since been lost to Germany. By this means he at last made the German border safe, and gave peace to the lands on the lower Elbe. Means were also found to protect the eastern boundary against Poland. There Mieczyslaw, the successor of Boleslas III., was continuing his father's efforts to found a great empire. The Germans did not succeed in recovering Lusatia from him until the third year (1031) of the war. But the family feuds which broke out in the reigning house of Poland accomplished even more than was needed. Mieczyslaw was driven out by his brother Bezbriem, and took refuge at Conrad's court. The German king made a victorious expedition into Poland, and restored him to the throne, but now received from him the homage of a vassal. In the west Conrad vigorously enforced against Rudolf III. of Burgundy the claims which Henry II. had acquired for the German kings by the compact of inheritance which he had made with Rudolf. Ernest II. of Swabia, who opposed Conrad's title to the Burgundian throne with one derived from his mother, the daughter of the Burgundian princess Gerberga, was defeated and slain by the imperial forces, August 17, 1030, in the Höllenthal in the Black Forest. Later popular tradition invested him with the glory of a martyr.

Rudolf III. died in 1032. Within two years Conrad crushed all opposition, and assumed the crown of Burgundy. The new acquisition, from its extent, populousness, and strategic position, was of immense political and military importance. Moreover, Burgundy, which was the home of the Cluniacs, exercised a mighty

religious stimulus upon Germany. The Burgundian clergy was permeated by the ideas of ecclesiastical reform that animated the monks of Cluny. The nobles of the land had adopted many of these ideas, and had even modified their knightly usages in accordance with the demands of the Cluniacs, especially by the institution of the 'Truce of God.' By this the days of the Saviour's passion were made days of peace, as having been hallowed for all time, and thus feuds were limited to the days from Monday to Thursday. These views and efforts were still strange to the German clergy and nobility. They now began to gain influence, and paved the way for a reformation of the German church, the results of which ultimately decided the whole system of government for the realm.

During Conrad's reign the spread of the Cluniac spirit in the church was matched by a reform in the organization in the laity, which vastly increased the effective strength of the state. Paradoxical as it may seem, the power of the king received a great accession from an extension of that feudal system which more than once had reduced the royal authority to little more than a shadow. The great imperial fiefs had long since become hereditary. The lower grades of fiefs were hitherto dependent upon the upper, and their holders were therefore compelled to follow, even against the crown, those who had the power to ruin them by depriving them of their holdings. Hence it was for the interest of the crown to protect the occupants of the smaller fiefs against such tyranny, and to make it possible for them to remain true to their allegiance to the king even if their liege lord revolted, and wished to make use of them against the crown. This end was attained as soon as the lower grades of fiefs were acknowledged to be hereditary as well as the larger ones. Thus many thousands of chivalrous and warlike gentlemen came under the king's protection. They felt grateful to him for this, and his cause was thenceforth theirs. Conrad II. introduced this innovation into Germany, not — as in Italy — by means of legislation, but by a systematic course of procedure which soon made the change an accomplished fact, from which even the great feudaries could no longer escape. Accordingly a new distribution of parties took place within that part of the German nation which was capable of bearing arms. The lower grades of vassals henceforth revered the crown, against which in earlier times they had so often been obliged to do service, as a power that protected them. The crown in its turn gained in them a powerful military and political support.

This support Conrad II. strengthened still more by extending to the crown domains and their occupants a system which had been developed during the last generation in the bishoprics. Conrad imposed upon the tenants of the royal domains certain fixed duties in the service of the king and the realm. Thus he made them the military and financial mainstay of the crown, a position which up to that time had been chiefly occupied by the vassals and warriors of the church. At the same time, by allowing them to participate in the public business of the realm, he raised them to a higher level in the social scale, and thus their servile condition was gradually forgotten. Complete uniformity was of course impossible in this case, because the duties which were to be imposed on them were regulated in each instance according to the management of the particular estate in question. But the principle is clear from the provisions of the manorial code, which was issued for Weissenburg in Bavaria in 1029. According to this code, the sons of the serfs who belonged to that place were to serve the king for a year without compensation. If then they did not receive the customary fief of three hides of land, they might take service elsewhere for a year. If an expedition to Italy was impending, the daughters of the serfs were to prepare clothes, etc., from Monday to Wednesday, but during the time of work were to be supplied with food from the manor. If the serf marched with the army to Italy, he was to be equipped with a horse to ride and a baggage animal; also with a knapsack, two servants, and ten pounds (in money). On other expeditions he received only five pounds, a horse, and two goat-skins. In this way Conrad turned to the advantage of the crown and the realm not only the military strength of the serfs, but also the working capacity of their relatives, as well as the produce of the royal manors. This is one reason why he showed himself much less generous toward the church than the other German kings, and even took measures to recover from her the property of the crown, in order to have it absolutely at his own disposal in accordance with manorial law.

Conrad II. laid new foundations for the German monarchy, not by ostentatious acts of legislation, but by proceeding almost imperceptibly but steadily from one case to another. He secured the recognition of the new principle of government by establishing a series of accomplished facts. But the hereditary tenure of the fiefs would be fatal to the monarchy, if the latter were in future subjected at every change of rulers to the chances of an election, as it had been

in the past. Hence the logical consequence was that the crown, too, must be made hereditary. Therefore Conrad II. strove after this object also; and here again he followed a slow but sure policy, so that in this case, too, his end was reached apparently without his seeking it, and consequently without opposition. In 1028 he succeeded in having his son Henry chosen as his successor, but this was not enough for his purpose. How little such an election meant without a power which was both willing and able to compel people to recognize it, had been shown by the proceedings after the death of Otto II. Hence Conrad sought to place in the hands of his appointed successor enough power to prevent, or at least to frustrate, all attempts at disputing the boy's right to the throne after his father's death. To this end the king handed over to his son all the dukedoms as they became vacant in the course of his reign. In this way Henry at last united under himself all the states except Saxony and Lorraine.

Thus the ducal office really lost its old significance, and, if this state of things proved permanent, would become the strongest support of the crown, instead of a perpetual danger to it.

The later years of Conrad's reign (from 1036) were spent in Italy in effecting the same reform in the feudal system which we have already noticed in Germany, and in conflict with the ambitious Archbishop Aribert of Milan. Aribert, it seems, was attempting to establish a sort of religio-political tyranny over Upper Italy, in conjunction with the greater feudaries (the so-called 'captains'), and at the expense of the lesser nobility (*valvassores*). The latter appealed to Conrad, who entered Italy a second time in 1036, and on May 23, 1037, published an imperial edict pronouncing lesser as well as greater fiefs hereditary. Thenceforth a lord could not deprive his vassal of his fief unless the latter had been convicted by a feudal court of his peers of having violated his fealty; even then an appeal lay to the emperor. Milan, however, continued obstinate; and though elsewhere successful, the emperor was finally compelled by disease to retire with his army across the Alps. While in Italy he intrusted the defence of the southern border to the Norman Raymond of Aversa.

This ill success which Conrad met with in the south seems to have made no impression in the north, — a fact which shows how firmly the royal power had been established in Germany. At this very time the emperor was strong enough to have his son Henry, on

whom he had just conferred the dukedom of Swabia, in addition to Franconia, Bavaria, and Carinthia, crowned king of Burgundy at Solothurn. The hereditary monarchy now seemed fully established, when Conrad II. died in Utrecht, on June 4, 1039, after a short sickness.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CULMINATION OF THE GERMAN-ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER HENRY III.

(A. D. 1039-1056.)

NOT only in comparison with the reign of the visionary Otto III., but even with that of the laborious and painstaking Henry II., the rule of Conrad II. seems sober and prosaic. Animated by selfishness and ambition, Conrad inspired fear and compelled obedience by his sweeping and ruthless military measures; but he never was loved by his people, and it is said that no one felt sorrowful at his death.

In all these respects Henry III., who now mounted the throne at the age of two-and-twenty, was his father's opposite. The young man possessed an excellent education, and was full of sincere piety. He was constantly impressed by the weight of responsibility that rested upon him, and regarded his kingly calling as an office assigned him by God, for the administration of which he was to answer with his own salvation. Thus he acquired a self-control which enabled him to restrain admirably, even in youth, the mighty energy pent up within him, and to force it to operate harmoniously. He was a man of thoroughly imaginative temperament, and had a rare faculty not only of expressing his ideal in acts, but also of communicating it to others by the impression which his achievements and his own brilliant personality created upon them. The unprecedented power which Conrad II. had gained for his family acquired a quite different significance in the hands of such an extraordinary character as Henry. People yielded with reverence to a monarch who, although he wore three crowns, and finally attained to a universal sovereignty worthy of the name, still remained free from self-consciousness and selfishness. At the height of his power he still preserved his dispassionate and peaceable disposition, and in the purity of his life and the integrity of his character was an example to all. He was free from the errors of Otto III., and administered his office like a priest transfigured with holy enthusiasm.

When he mounted the throne the change of rulers was not felt as an alteration. For years the precocious youth had already stood by his father's side as a sharer in the government, occasionally restraining Conrad's harsh and violent nature, and candidly acknowledging and maintaining his own view when it differed from that of his parent. The peace of the realm was not broken anywhere at his accession. When, in January, 1040, he held his court in Augsburg, the Lombard nobles presented themselves there to do him homage. At Easter the Burgundians did likewise at Ingelheim. Aribert of Milan also appeared there, and became reconciled to the young ruler.

In the east the arms and diplomacy of Henry were brilliantly successful. The ambitious duke Bretislas of Bohemia was compelled (1041) to surrender his Polish conquests, and do homage to Henry. In Poland, Casimir, a son of King Mieczyslaw by Richenza, a niece of Otto III., was established as duke, subject to the German supremacy. Henry conducted four campaigns in Hungary (1042–1045) against the usurper Aba, who was deposed and replaced by Peter, a descendant of a side branch of the Hungarian royal house of St. Stephen, as a protégé of Germany. Henry, like Charlemagne, supported his army by a fleet on the Danube. The most important battle of the war was fought on the banks of the Raab, July 5, 1044, when the king defeated a vastly superior force of the enemy who were attempting to lure him away from his supplies by a pretended flight.

This victory seemed like a miracle, and Henry celebrated it by a solemn festival of thanksgiving. On this occasion he and his followers did penance, forgave all their enemies, and vowed to keep inviolable peace with one another. The Hungarian monarch delivered to him his kingdom under the symbol of a golden lance, only to receive it back immediately as a fief. The Hungarian nobles were obliged to swear allegiance to Henry and those who should succeed him. Thus the Hungarian crown appeared to be a possession of the Salian house, and the king of Hungary seemed to be merely the representative of his German liege. The golden lance Henry sent with other costly presents to Rome; and the popes afterwards based upon their possession of it their claim that the kingdom of Hungary was a fief of the Holy See.

Thus at that time the three kingdoms that were neighbors to Germany on the east — Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary — acknowl-

edged the supremacy of the German king. The ideal of universal empire was approaching realization in the very quarter where, up to that time, had been its weakest point. This fact also exercised an influence upon the German realm itself.

Henry gave up the policy of bringing all the dukedoms into the hands of his own family, but he emphasized all the more strongly the fact that the dukes were simply officers of the crown by the position which he assigned to them. In 1042 he gave Bavaria to his nephew Henry of Luxemburg; and in 1045 the Rhenish count-palatine Otto, the brother of Richenza, the duchess of Poland, received Swabia. After Otto's death, in 1048, Swabia was given to the East-Frankish margrave, Henry of Schweinfurt. In this way Henry III. secured for the empire a decade of undisturbed internal peace. Treason and insurrection, which at other times were regularly recurring phenomena, fell into disuse; and princes, noblemen, and vassals rivalled one another in their readiness to serve a ruler who set them all a brilliant example of conscientiousness in the fulfilment of duties, and unselfish devotion to the common weal.

But even this powerful monarchy had its weak side. The semi-barbarism of the lay nobility, and the increasing antagonism between it and the church, were detrimental to the peace of the realm, as numerous conflicts between the ideas of law entertained by the ecclesiastics and those held by the lay nobles clearly showed. For the more that in those days the church, under the influence of the Cluniacs, strove to make the great principles of Christian morality dominant also in secular life, the deeper was the offence that she necessarily took at the way in which the lay nobles clung to trial by duel, to the right of declaring and carrying on feuds, and to the dread precept of avenging bloodshed by bloodshed,—institutions which, instead of reconciling existing quarrels, continually bred new and more violent enmities.

No one felt this discord more deeply than Henry III. But as he combined an extraordinary degree of political sense and shrewdness with a rare and lofty aspiration after moral ideals, he undertook to reconcile these dissensions in a highly original and characteristic way. In October of 1043 the Swabian nobility assembled around him at Constance, while at the same time a synod of the German bishops held its sessions; but they appear to have sought in vain to discover means by which to put an end to the destructive feuds that prevailed in Swabia. It could not seem otherwise than impossible;

for no one thought himself justified in allowing a wrong done him to pass unrevenged, because by so doing he would forfeit some portion of his honor. Then on the fourth day of the deliberations Henry himself appeared in the pulpit before the temporal and spiritual nobles, who were assembled in the church. He admonished them to peace in words which were both eloquent and intelligible to all, and concluded with the proposition that all those present should forgive the wrongs that they had received from one another, and forego all retaliation. He himself set them the example, declaring that he fully forgave all who had sinned in any way against him. As they still showed reluctance, he plied the assembly with passionate entreaties, and finally he overcame by threats the resistance of those who still refused to obey him. This proceeding is absolutely unique. Henry's conduct was not based upon the Cluniac idea of the "truce of God;" nor can it be traced to the "compacts of public peace," by means of which, as early as the time of Henry II., people had tried in particular districts to check the prevalence of feuds, which the king was not strong enough to do away with. In this case the king appeared as lord and master; but he used his authority to enforce a requirement based on the divine command, the object of this requirement being merely to give the Christian rule of practice its due place in the state. An ordinance to the same effect was issued from Constance to the other portions of the empire. The measure was, therefore, calculated to apply to the whole realm, and was not confined to any one district. Whether Henry's ultimate object was a universal peace, such as Henry II. had aimed at, cannot be determined with certainty. At all events, the idea was too new and too foreign to the mode of thought that prevailed in that age to gain immediate success. At the end of the year 1043, in Treves, and again in the summer of 1044, on the occasion of the festival of thanksgiving for the victory over the Hungarians on the Raab, Henry repeated his peace-edict, and again declared that he waived all retaliation against those who had wronged him: but nevertheless the feuds still continued here and there. In Lorraine, especially, after the death of Duke Gozelo, his sons Godfrey and Gozelo the younger were at variance, because, although the elder brother claimed the right of succession to the whole duchy, the king had given South Lorraine to the younger as a fief. In defence of his supposed rights, Godfrey not only gained over many Burgundian nobles, but also entered into alliance with King Henry I. of France. In the fall of 1044 ener-

getic military measures were necessary to restore order and enforce obedience to the peace-edict there in the west.

By entering upon this policy of reform, Henry openly embraced the cause of the Cluniaes. But in this way he soon reached a point where the German clergy renounced him, just as formerly it had opposed the similar efforts of Henry II. His religious sense was offended at the deep absorption of the German bishops in temporal interests and secular business, which in many cases had also made their manner of life too worldly. The bishops, as well as the laity, were to be raised to a higher moral plane, and trained to fulfil their duties according to Henry's conception of them. This reformatory tendency became especially prominent in Henry III. after his marriage with Agnes of Poitou. She was the youngest daughter of Duke William of Poitou, a prince who was highly respected in his native country of southern France, and who was lauded as a patron of the strict party in the church, and a protector of the earnest scientific pursuits which were carried on by it. It is a significant fact that this match was opposed by the German clergy; for they apprehended from such a successor to the fair Gunhild (Henry's first wife, the daughter of Canute the Great, who had died on the return-journey from Italy, in 1038) a strengthening of the Cluniae party, which they disliked. And in fact Henry obtained in Agnes a sympathetic consort and prudent co-worker and counsellor in the field of religious reform. Henry's activity in this department of course involved the danger that the bounds between church and state would be abolished, and the crown exercise the rights of high-priesthood; so that a kind of imperial papacy would result, not the distorted, preposterous one of Otto III., but a morally refined and idealized one. The fact that this did not happen, but the church, in spite of her subjection to the powerful sovereign, retained her dignity, and continued to be the ruling power in the intellectual world, is a further proof of the moral earnestness and the mental profundity of Henry III., which unselfishly raised up the degraded church, and restored her to herself.

In Rome wild disorder prevailed. When John XIX. died in 1033, the Counts of Tusculum again raised one of their family, Theophylact, to the chair of St. Peter under the name of Benedict IX. He dishonored his position by a vicious life, but nevertheless exercised for a decade all the papal rights; and his title was not disputed, even by Henry. But at last a party at Rome itself raised up

an anti-pope, in the person of Bishop John of Sabina, who took the name of Silvester III. The latter was soon driven out again by Benedict IX. But Benedict finally resolved to leave the clerical profession, and take a wife; and so he handed over his position, by a regular bargain, to the priest John Gratianus of Porta Latina. The latter was a serious and able man, in whose case even the Cluniacs overlooked the sin of simony, which he incurred in order to free the church from Benedict IX. John now styled himself Gregory VI.; and for his chaplain he chose a young monk, Hildebrand, for whom a great destiny was in store. Benedict, however, receded from the bargain after it had been concluded, and recovered his position with the aid of the inhabitants of Trastevere and the barons of the Campagna, who had always been his mainstay. But since Silvester did not give way to him, the church now became the subject of a quarrel between three popes. Then at the suggestion of the Cluniacs, a synod of the Roman clergy appealed to Henry III., and invited him, as their supreme patron and protector, to restore order. He could now begin to carry out his ideas of reform at the very place where their effect would be decisive. With Rome as his starting-point, he was sure of gradually forcing even the refractory German bishops to yield. He had already come into open conflict with them at a synod which was held at Whitsuntide of 1046 in Aix. Henry had demanded that Archbishop Wigbert of Ravenna, whom he himself had appointed not long before, should be deposed because he had been proven guilty of arbitrarily violating the usages of the church. His demand was refused on the plea that, in the first place, the German bishops had no jurisdiction over those of Italy, and secondly, that the condemnation of religious offences in general was the business of the pope, not of the king, since the latter had only temporal powers, and his subjects owed him only allegiance, while they were bound to render implicit obedience to the pope. This plea was opposed in principle to the standpoint which Henry had thus far maintained, and excluded the royal authority from the very field where Henry was intending to employ it with beneficial effect. Indeed, if the German bishops really owed the king merely allegiance, but the pope obedience, then the king's whole control over the German church ceased, and the whole system of government was endangered. Thus the problem, the solution of which afterwards cost whole decades of bitter strife in the struggle about the right of investiture, was already formulated.

In October of 1046 Henry appeared in Lombardy. Everyone yielded him obedience without a struggle, and he could devote his whole attention to the reformation of the church. He brought her under strict discipline. In the view of the Cluniacs, she was to be convinced of her own unworthiness and the necessity of thorough reform. Henry represented to the bishops who assembled about him at Pavia how, since most of them had obtained their positions by simony, they really all deserved to be deposed. He did not spare even his own father, who had practised simony without shame. Yet this time, he said, there was still room for mercy; but the bishops were to strive to make the best possible use of what they had unlawfully acquired. He himself solemnly promised to forego all profit from bestowing ecclesiastical offices, and for the future simony was forbidden under penalty of outlawry and excommunication. Accordingly Silvester III. and Gregory VI. could not be suffered to retain their dignity; and on December 20, on his way to Rome, Henry held a synod at Sutri, which deposed both from the office that they had obtained by illegitimate means. On December 23, at Rome, which Henry had reached on the day before, a similar sentence was pronounced on Benedict IX., who had not presented himself. On December 24, Bishop Suidger, of Bamberg, was raised to St. Peter's chair; at Christmas he was consecrated under the name of Clement II., and immediately crowned Henry emperor. The Romans gave the emperor for the future the right to nominate the candidate at the papal elections. Thus the choice was really left in his hands; since, from the very nature of the case, it was impossible for any other candidate to be elected than the one for whom the emperor gave his voice. Thenceforth Henry had really the right to appoint the head of the church. Thus the supremacy of the reform party at Rome, and the subjection of the German church to it, were decided. A new era began for the church; in January of 1047 a Roman synod declared simony to be heresy. A number of Italian bishops, who were convicted of this crime, were deposed, and their places filled by German ecclesiastics who favored reform. Henry also placed the temporal power of the pope in security, by subduing the counts of Tusculum, by establishing Pandulf IV. of Capua as a rival and overseer of the too-powerful Duke Waimar of Salerno, and by enfeoffing the Norman nobles, Raymond of Aversa, and Drogo of Apulia, as vassals of the realm with the possessions which they had gained independently.

This period marks the culmination of the imperial power in the Middle Ages. The ideal of a universal empire, as it was understood at that time, could now be looked upon as realized in all essential points. Peace prevailed in the realm; princes and nobles vied with one another in their eagerness to serve the mighty sovereign, to whom Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary did homage; while the numerous serfs of the crown, proud of so honorable a connection, gathered around him in military and manorial service; and the Cluniac party, which headed the dominant intellectual movement of the age, lauded him as its most faithful convert and its most energetic champion. The Roman church, too, owed to him its liberation from sin and shame; and the German clergy, which had resisted him at first, now submitted obediently to his rigid discipline, because it was conscious of its own need of reformation. But the empire could only maintain itself for a short time in this commanding position. From the very nature of things, the individual powers that were threatened with destruction rose again in opposition to the universal sovereignty that was attaining its consummation. After 1047 Henry was obliged to make a laborious and difficult defence against their attack, and thus to become conscious that his vast power could not be maintained in its full extent, and that he must try to appease his adversaries by relaxing the reins of government which had been drawn too tightly.

The opposition began with special violence in Hungary, Lorraine, and Saxony. In Hungary, Henry's vassal, King Peter, had been dethroned and blinded, and was now lying in prison. The national reaction had raised to the throne Andrew I., of the house of Arpad, who tried to maintain both the Christian civilization and a good understanding with Germany. Henry recognized him as king, since he himself was hindered from taking up arms against him by troubles in the west of the empire. Besides, there was uneasiness in Saxony, where religious and political innovations were causing dissatisfaction. Apparently the emperor had pursued a special policy with reference to that country which threatened the independent position that it had long enjoyed. Henry II. had recognized that position by confirming the old Saxon laws, but now the Saxons were called upon to bear a heavier share of the imperial imposts than before. These burdens had formerly affected even common freemen and peasants only in special cases. The building of numerous castles, which was begun by Henry III., seems to have

been especially displeasing; for in these the people saw the supports of an impending tyranny. The rich silver-mines of the Harz may have caused the emperor to devote especial attention to Saxony. Moreover, his friend, the ambitious and grasping Bishop Adalbert of Bremen and Hamburg (1043-1072), who dreamed of a northern patriarchate, was very unpopular:

In spite of all this, Henry held his ground at first. He overcame the rebellion in the northwest. But in the meantime good order in Italy and the church was also threatened. For when Clement II. died in October, 1047, the Counts of Tusculum tried to recover the power, and Benedict IX. returned to Rome. Henry, however, appointed Bishop Poppo of Brixen pope under the name of Damasus II. (1047-1048). Damasus was not consecrated pope until July 17, 1048. Three weeks later (August 9) he was dead. At the end of 1048 the emperor appointed a successor in the person of Bishop Bruno of Toul, who was escorted to Italy by the Roman ambassadors who had come to ask for the appointment of a new pope. In February, 1049, Bruno entered Rome, clad in the attire of a penitent pilgrim. On the twelfth of the month he was consecrated as Leo IX. (1048-1054). He was a zealous partisan of the new reform movement, and was unceasingly active in its behalf. It owed its ascendancy to his efforts as an agitator and organizer, although in his conflicts against simony and the marriage of priests he at first met with a stubborn resistance. To improve the political situation of the papacy, Leo IX. took up arms against the rising power of the Normans, which was already trying to separate itself from the empire. He undertook an expedition to the south in January, 1053; but he suffered a defeat at Civitate, and for a while was held as a prisoner in the hands of his adversaries. Thus the successes which Henry III. had gained in the south in 1047 were lost again. But the emperor was already preparing to check the decline of his power, and restore his tottering sway, in this quarter also.

The year 1050 brought him the most brilliant good fortune. The insurrection in Lorraine had been suppressed; and on November 11 Agnes of Poitou bore him the longed-for son, Henry, who even in the cradle, without having been elected or crowned, was looked upon as his father's successor. The Salian house seemed to have attained a hereditary monarchy. But threatening clouds soon rose in the horizon. For the enemies who had hitherto been scattered now combined for a simultaneous attack from different quarters.

The rebel Godfrey of Lorraine had escaped to Italy; and his marriage with the widowed Marchioness Beatrix of Tuscany united Henry's foes in the south and the north. Hungary revolted; and the fact that Henry undertook three expeditions (1050-1052) against it without decisive success, gave new courage to all the enemies of the Salian rule. In Bavaria, Duke Conrad rebelled. He was deposed, and fled to Hungary. The emperor gave the duchy to his own son, Henry, for whom Bishop Gebhard, of Eichstädt, governed it. These events showed that the Salian power did not stand so firmly as had been supposed, and might be seriously endangered by the emperor's death. Accordingly Henry now caused his three-year-old son to be expressly chosen king at Tribur. Then came ill tidings from Italy; the news of the pope's defeat by the Normans was followed by that of his death, on April, 1054. But the church made no attempt to free herself from the control of the emperor. The Romans again asked for the appointment of a new pope. But none of the German bishops was willing to accept an office which seemed destined to be so fatal to him who held it. Even Gebhard of Eichstädt imposed conditions which show that he did not consider the future of the church sufficiently guaranteed if it depended entirely on the power of the emperor. In order to make her more independent and, in particular, to enable her to defend her own temporal rights in Italy, —and perhaps, also, in order to disarm the aversion which the Romans entertained toward the German who sat in Peter's chair, —Gebhard demanded from the emperor the surrender of all rights that belonged to St. Peter. This was an ambiguous expression, which could be made to include more than the temporal possessions of the Holy See, although in the first place it was no doubt meant to apply to them only. He also required that Camerino and Spoleto should be given up to him for his own, and that he should be appointed viceroy of Italy. Apparently Gebhard, who was now called Victor II. (1054-1057), thought it impossible for a papacy, which rested merely on the support of the whole church, without at the same time being a distinct territorial power in Italy, to continue to exist. But what was of main importance was the emperor's promise that he himself would visit Italy.

There he met with no resistance. Godfrey of Lorraine now returned over the Alps in order to renew the insurrection in his own country. His wife Beatrix submitted to Henry, but she and her daughter Matilda were carried away to Germany for a time. The

death of her only son Frederick seemed utterly to disable the power of the Tuscan house. Victor II. received the emperor in Florence, and, according to the promise that had been made him, received back most of the estates that had been taken from the church. Negotiations were now commenced with the Greeks for the purpose of waging war with them against the Normans. In Upper Italy, Henry recovered the possessions and rights of the crown with vigor; but he was forced to stop short in the midst of his successes, and hurry to Germany to crush a conspiracy that had arisen there among the

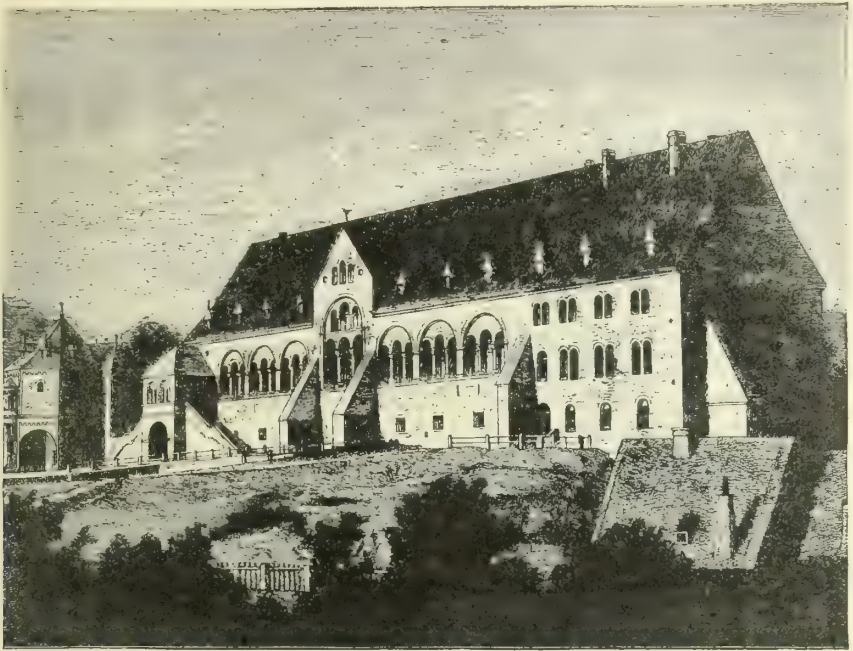


FIG. 81. — The Imperial Palace (Kaiserhaus) at Goslar in Hanover.

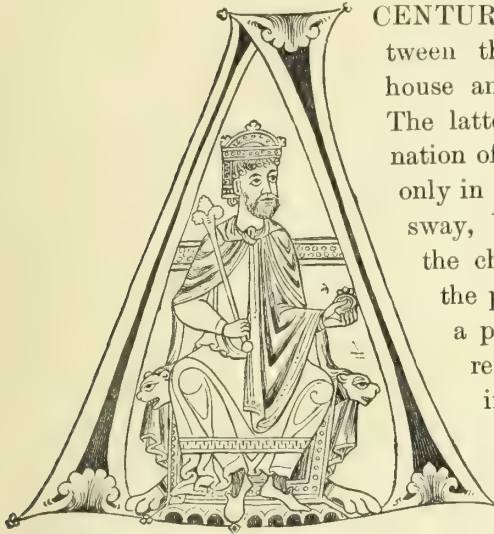
princes. This plot contemplated the dethronement and murder of Henry, and the appointment of Conrad, the exiled duke of Bavaria, to be king in his stead. The emperor's return frustrated such projects as these: but the danger remained, and the uneasiness that still prevailed gave reason for apprehending another and a worse outbreak. Henry did not feel himself strong enough to maintain by force, against the opponents who rose on every hand, the system which had thus far been carried into execution. He preferred to appease and reconcile the more moderate of his adversaries by making concessions, and to diminish the number of his foes by showing mercy

to the less guilty among them. He allowed the Marchioness of Tuscany to return to her home. He entered into friendly relations with the Hungarian monarchy by betrothing his daughter Judith to Solomon, the heir to the Hungarian throne. He followed a similar policy in betrothing his son, King Henry, to Bertha, the daughter of the Marquis of Susa, one of the most powerful of the Italian nobles, whose support he wished to gain against the marquises of Tuscany. On the other hand, in Saxony no change took place, or rather the dissatisfaction increased. The king himself visited the country in order to bring the stubborn people into complete submission to the new system of government. He chose Goslar (Fig. 81), the most strongly fortified town in the important Harz region, for his place of residence. Pope Victor II. visited him there, and they proceeded together to the palace of Bothfelde. Here the emperor, whose health was already poor, was violently agitated by the news of a defeat which the Lusatians had inflicted upon his army at the mouth of the Havel. At the close of September his illness took a serious turn. Henry faced death with piety and dignity, as he had lived, and put his house in order, both as father and as sovereign. He caused the young Henry to be once more elected king by those present, and recommended him to the especial care of Victor II. He then made confession to the pope; and after receiving from him the last sacrament he died, on October 5, 1056.

CHAPTER XV.

A SURVEY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THIS PERIOD.

(A.D. 888-1056.)



Initial letter with picture of a king. In a manuscript of Josephus, from the monastery at Zwifalten. About 1100 A.D. Stuttgart.

CENTURY and a half elapsed between the fall of the Carolingian house and the death of Henry III. The latter's reign marks the culmination of the German monarchy, not only in respect to the extent of its sway, but also with reference to the character and the objects of the power which it exercised,—a power which in virtue of its religious and moral element included within itself the highest intellectual forces of the time. In this century and a half the development of civilization also made great progress.

When we compare the condition of Germany at the beginning of the Saxon period with that which she had reached about the middle of the eleventh century, the advance that had been made in the economic and intellectual life of the German people seems really enormous. It is wonderful what the German nation then accomplished in the midst of great foreign and domestic conflicts; what an abundance of physical, mental, and moral strength it developed within itself; and with what inexhaustible youth and vigor it made the new world which was opening before it its own.

At the beginning of the tenth century it seemed that the leading rôle which the German tribes had acted since the commencement of the Great Migrations was already played out. Even the maintenance of their political unity was imperilled, after the fall of the

Carolingian empire, by the more complete separation of the duchies from one another. The growth of feudalism threatened to undermine the Teutonic foundations of the State and of society by gradually diminishing the freedom of the common people, and the character of the monarchy underwent continuous alteration. Culture, which had its source in the church, was in such a state of decadence that the people looked back longingly upon the time of Charlemagne as a period of the utmost intellectual splendor. Churches and cloisters lay in ruin and desolation ; and the diffusion of a degree of literary culture among the laity, which Charlemagne had systematically striven for, had come once more to a complete stand-still. The picture which Germany presents at this time seems utterly sad and gloomy when one compares with it the astounding intellectual activity and productiveness which the kindred northern peoples were exhibiting at the same period. The economic condition of Germany was also deplorable, and was far from corresponding to the promising beginning that had been made under Charlemagne. The German knew no sources of income except agriculture ; and this was still exclusively confined to its ancient form, i.e., one-third of the arable land was planted each year, and the other two-thirds suffered to lie fallow, and the members of each village used its forests, moors, and heaths in common. In the portions of the west which had made much progress, trade and commerce were already regulated by means of money circulating at a fixed rate of exchange ; and thus it became possible for them to be carried on more freely and on a larger scale ; but Germany was still wholly confined to the clumsy forms of barter and payment in kind, and still lacked cities as the centres of its economic and its intellectual life. It must have appeared at that time to the Byzantines and the Arabs as a land of barbarism. The mission-work had come to a halt, the marches in the north and east had fallen into decay, and the northern and Slavic heathen were everywhere on the point of pressing forward, and were disturbing and threatening the Christian and German possessions on every hand.

Henry I. checked this decadence ; and Otto the Great laid the foundations of a new political and religious system. Otto's son brought this system nearly to perfection, but it was overthrown again by the whimsical conduct of his grandson. Then Henry II. laboriously rescued it, and joined it together again. Next Conrad II., by organizing the crown-servants, added a new social class, which

made the crown more independent of the church, and so gave it a power which was really absolute. Henry III. had wished to adapt the great reformatory spirit of his time to these new forms, and to strengthen it so that it should penetrate the state, the church, and society in an equal degree. But he was only partially successful, for he met with a resistance which at the time he felt himself too weak to overcome. This was connected with the changes which had taken place at the close of the Saxon period. These were as follows. In the first place, the different classes became more sharply differentiated from one another within the nation than before. In particular, a class of professional warriors separated itself from the peasants, upon whom the defence of the nation had formerly depended, as well as upon the nobles. Moreover, the old county-system fell into disuse; the peasants forfeited the connection with public life which they had previously owed to their participation in military service. They not only became unwarlike, but also were almost untouched by the progress of civilization. Hence they clung tenaciously to their traditional usages, and retained the simple manners of their forefathers. But this isolation led to the organization of the peasantry into associations of their own, based upon the manorial codes which their spiritual and temporal lords granted to them. On the other hand, the nobility, who by means of the feudal system were banded about the throne by the side of the church or below her, attained greater importance, and became more and more the warrior class, upon which the military efficiency of the empire, both at home and abroad, depended. Conrad II. brought this process of development to its consummation by bestowing upon the lower nobility a security of tenure which emancipated them from the higher feudatories, and bound them very closely to the interests of the crown. The effect of these innovations was intensified by economic changes which took place at the same time. The beginnings of municipal and industrial life belong to the close of this period. Their principal seats were the cities that were under bishops. These ecclesiastics united their retainers by means of manorial codes and statutes into a kind of parish-unions. The latter, though of course they were not free at first, gradually became an economic power through the industrial activity which they maintained; and thus they were enabled to throw off the control of the bishops, so that in later times they completely attained their freedom.

Thus in the century and a half from the time of Henry I. to the death of Henry III. a new organization of society had taken place; and there was already a tendency to carry this organization farther, and to increase its complexity manifold. But a change had also taken place in the opposite direction. The German peoples, which at the beginning of this period seemed to be in a fair way to become entirely separated from one another, had become more firmly convinced of their unity, and had really for the first time coalesced into one German nation, while they nevertheless retained a certain degree of individuality in minor matters. As is well known, it was in the Saxon period that the name *Deutsch* ('German') first came into use to designate the whole nation. This name arose from the community of speech which, in spite of dialectic differences, distinguished all the German tribes from the surrounding peoples. The exploits which they had performed in common under the Ottos, the successful defence which, about the end of the tenth century, they had jointly made against the dangers that threatened them on every hand, their laborious but successful struggles against the Danes and Slavs in the north, and the Bohemians, Poles, and Hungarians in the east, had brought the German tribes such an abundance of common recollections and common heroism, that among the chivalry the differences arising from the separation between the tribes had faded out. A strong *esprit de corps* had been developed; nor was this all. A feeling of patriotic pride had arisen, which manifested itself in loyalty to the king, and valiant defence of the honor and rights of the empire. It was the German knights of this period that served as the originals of the heroes of the *Nibelungenlied*. Many foreign elements, indeed, were even then present in the outward forms, in which the spirit that animated these men found its expression. As early as the middle of the eleventh century the beginnings of that international tendency, which in later times was characteristic of chivalry everywhere, were already to be found among the German knights. The Germans came into frequent contact with foreign countries, which had developed the peculiarities of chivalry upon the basis of the feudal system and of vassalage more rapidly and completely than Germany. On the one side, Lorraine was the channel through which French feudalism, which had already achieved great progress under the Norman influence, made itself permanently felt. With the time of Conrad II. began the union of Germany with Burgundy, the land where both the best and worst features of

chivalry had attained the highest development; and besides all this there was the constantly renewed connection with Italy, which land, through the royal custom of journeying to Rome to receive the imperial crown, became the favorite scene upon which the German chivalry loved to display itself.

But the effects of this connection with the countries south of the Alps extended far beyond the knights and the political and economic sphere which they controlled. Great as was the political disorganization of Italy, and deplorable as was the moral barbarism which had invaded the very highest circles of that land, yet in the midst of this dissolute society survived a precious intellectual inheritance from antiquity. This inheritance, in spite of the mutilation and perversion that it had suffered, contained an inexhaustible abundance of stimulating and educating elements, which exercised a powerful influence upon the Germans, as they had upon their forefathers in the period of the Great Migrations. The Saxons and Franks, who had become masters of Rome by means of their swords, were overcome by this influence, and became grateful pupils of the Roman civilization. The same end which Charlemagne had tried to attain by working systematically and peacefully from the court-school of Aix as a centre, was accomplished, in another way indeed, and perhaps less perfectly, but still with like success in the main, by the union of Germany with Italy that was renewed by Otto the Great. It is a noticeable fact that it was the Saxon people, which had been least affected by this higher intellectual culture, which through the intermediation of its royal house played the foremost part in establishing it in Germany.

In the forty years of the sway of the first two Salian emperors theological learning, properly so called, which under the Ottos had been making rapid progress, not only did not advance, but even began to recede. At the close of the period of the Ottos high-church tendencies had prevailed, and these had drawn the German clergy deeper into learned theological studies; but under the first Salian emperor, with the predominance of the worldly point of view, theology was driven once more into the background, and the decided opposition which the majority of the bishops made to the efforts of the Cluniacs helped to diminish ecclesiastical learning in Germany. In this domain, as in the development of scientific activity in general, Germany remained far behind; and the learned schools of Italy and France became the standard-bearers of progress. Such scientific pursuits as

were then cultivated in Germany followed a decidedly worldly and practical tendency; and this tendency also predominated in the theological literature of the time, which was not very extensive. The people of this matter-of-fact age in Germany had no appreciation for the theological speculations that were carried on so zealously in other lands. The young monks who were desirous to rise, and were interested in such studies, went to France, and pursued them there. On the other hand, — and the fact is an instructive one, — Italian ecclesiastics, who wished to fit themselves for an active political as well as religious career, visited Germany, and, if it was possible, entered service for a considerable time at the imperial court, i.e., in the chancellor's office. As is well known, this was the case with Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII.

To the predominance of secular interests in Germany during the first half of the eleventh century corresponds the fact that in the nurseries of learning, especially in the cloister-schools, in reality only those studies were pursued that might be useful for secular purposes. This tendency is reflected even in the Latin style of that period, which for the most part was free from all artificialities, all rhetorical pathos and biblical imagery, and sought (in most cases with success) a sober, clear, and easily intelligible form of expression. This was of much advantage to the historians of the time, but of course was peculiarly beneficial to the official style, which reveals itself in numerous documents and letters as especially adapted to treat of the practical subjects which are in question. The Latin poetry also shows a similar character. It reveals with especial clearness the worldly tendency which pervaded that whole age, from the fact that it manifests a preference for national subjects, and that, in spite of the foreign language in which it is clothed, it shows us the German life of the day with charming realism and minute accuracy. The best poetical work produced by Europe in the tenth century is a romantic epic, "*Waltharius*," written in Latin, but purely German in spirit, by Ekkehard, a monk of St. Gall (Fig. 82¹). The German language, too, was better appreciated

¹ The original of the plan of the Abbey of St. Gall here figured was probably made about 820 by Gerung, at once monk and architect, and is now in the library of the monastery. It contains manuscript explanations of the use of the various rooms, from which our description is drawn. The whole establishment was to be surrounded by a wall, and was about four hundred feet long by about three hundred wide.

A, Church: a, uncovered vestibule; b, the Paradise; c, side chapels; d, western choir; e, western exedra, with the altar dedicated to St. Peter; f, baptismal font, in

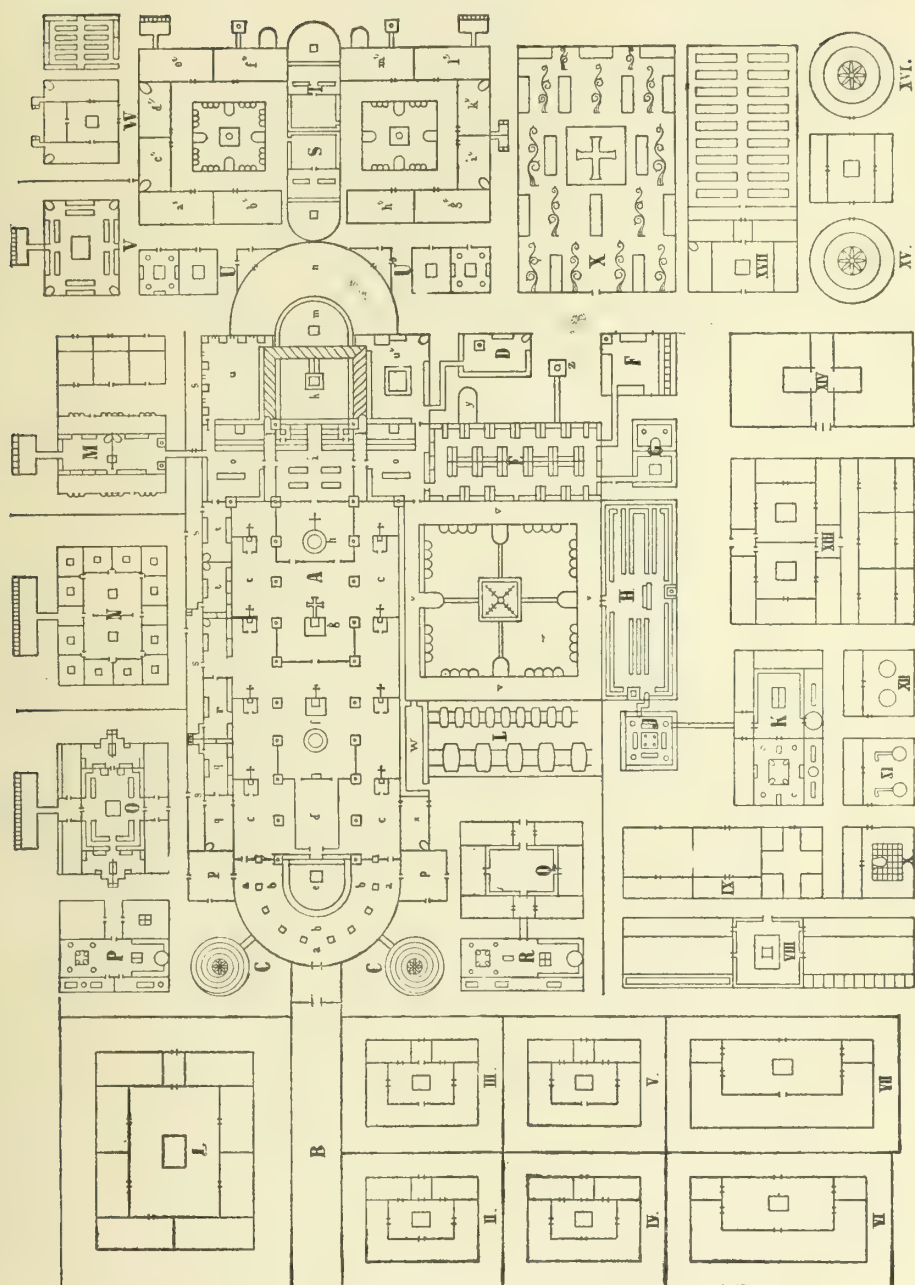


FIG. 82. — Plan of the Monastery of St. Gall.

front of which are the altars of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist ; g, altar of the Saviour ; h, chancel for the Gospels ; i, eastern choir, with steps to the presbytery ; k, presbytery, with altar of St. Gall, surrounded on three sides by a

under the influence of this national movement than formerly. People sought to make use of it even for religious purposes and for learned theological works. Notker Labeo, a monk of St. Gall, composed at the beginning of the eleventh century (he died in 1022) a translation and explanation of the Book of Psalms, which is an invaluable source for the knowledge of the Old High German vocabulary. This monk also translated into his mother-tongue the famous work of Boethius on the "Consolations of Philosophy," the "Organon" of Aristotle, and the poem of the African Martianus Capella (who belonged to the second half of the fifth century), on the marriage of Philologia and Mercury, containing in the form of an allegory an encyclopaedia of the seven liberal arts. Hence Notker received from his countrymen the honorary surname of 'the German.'

vaulted passage-way ; l, entrance to the crypt ; m, eastern exedra, with the altar of St. Paul ; n, vestibule, or Paradise ; o, transepts, used for side chapels ; p, porticoes ; q, porter's lodge ; q', bedroom for the porter ; r, lodgings for the head of the school, with study adjacent ; s, courts ; t, guest-chamber for visiting monks and clergy ; u, *scriptorium*, room for scribes, with library above ; u', sacristy, with robing-room above ; v, great cloister, of which the northern side (along the nave of the church) was used for a chapter-hall ; w, audience-room, or office ; x, lodgings for the overseer of the charities.

B, Entrance to church from outside. C, Towers, with spiral staircases overlooking the monastery. D, Rooms for baking the bread and preparing the oil for the Holy Communion. E, Dormitory for the monks, with living-room on first floor : y, heating apparatus for the monks' apartments ; z, chimney of the same. F, Latrinae. G, Washrooms and baths. H, Refectory, with wardrobe above. J, Kitchen. K, Bakery and brewery. L, Cellar, with storehouses above. M, Abbot's house, with offices adjacent. N, Schoolhouse. O, Quarters for guests of quality. P, Brewery and bakery belonging to O. Q, House for pilgrims and poor travellers, with (R) brewery and bakery adjoining. S, Church for the sick. a', b', c', d', e', f', Hospital for monks, around a cloister. T, Church for novices. g', h', i', k', l', m', Schoolhouse and lodgings for the *oblats* and novices, around a cloister. U, Bathroom and kitchen for the hospital. U', Bathroom and kitchen for the establishment for novices. V, Operating-rooms. W, Residence of physician, with apothecary's shop, rooms for patients, and a garden for medicinal herbs. X, Burying-ground.

I, Building of unknown use, the manuscript at this point being defective. II., Servants' quarters. III., Sheep-stalls. IV., Swine-stalls, with swineherds' quarters. V., Goat-stalls, with goatherds' quarters. VI., Barn for horses, with grooms' quarters. VII., Cattle-stalls, with cowherds' quarters. VIII., Stable for mares and oxen, with haylofts above, and quarters for servants in the middle. IX., Workshop for coopers and turners, with storehouse for brewery-grain. X., Fruit-drying house, with lodging for servants. XI., Mortars. XII., Handmills. XIII., Workshops and lodgings for artisans of all sorts (shoemakers, saddlers, sword- and shield-makers, carvers, tanners, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, fullers). XIV., Granary and threshing-floor. XV., Hen-house. XVI., Goose-pen, with lodgings between XV. and XVI. for the poultry-keeper. XVII., Gardener's house, with kitchen-garden adjacent. On the various beds in this garden, as also in the garden for medicinal herbs (W), the names of the plants are written in the manuscript.

To a younger contemporary of Notker, Willimer, the abbot of the Bavarian monastery of Ebersberg, who had been educated at Fulda and in Paris, are due a translation and explanation of the Song of Solomon. This work, with its barbarous mixture of Latin verses and sentences with German ones, is in itself a justification of the lament raised by its author over the decline of theological learning in Germany.

The whole life of those classes and circles of the German empire, which, at the close of the Saxon and the beginning of the Salian period, are prominent in our sources as being the real representatives of German, and — what is almost the same thing in this case — of universal history, is characterized by an exuberant and vigorous love of life and action (Fig. 83¹). This was often quite worldly, not seldom overweening and violent, and sometimes even coarse; but nevertheless, it testifies to the youthful vigor and joyousness which the consciousness of well-merited power and honor, and the belief that these will be maintained and increased, is apt to produce in every swiftly rising people. The impulse which the sciences received in Germany also increased the means of these representative classes; and we find everywhere evidence that the life of the knights and princes assumed at this time an extraordinarily splendid, and occasionally voluptuous, form; while the clergy, especially the bishops, who exercised princely authority, enjoyed their full share of these pleasures in spite of the zeal of the Cluniacs. As wealth increased, the expenditures for food and drink, for dwellings and clothes, and for weapons and utensils of every kind, increased likewise, and the tendency to pomp and show became prevalent. The acquaintance with the refined mode of life of the Italians and Southern French also contributed to the same result. Of all that was intended to satisfy the new and increased requirements of life in those days, very little, or nothing, has come down to us. This side of the character of that epoch is no longer directly visible, except in works of the plastic arts, and especially of architecture, which have been less exposed to the destructive effects of time. But even here we

¹ Scenes from the parable of the Great Supper (St. Luke xiv. 16 ff.), painted in an evangeliary prepared between 983 and 991, and given to the Monastery at Echternach by Emperor Otto III. The separate scenes are faithful pictures of the life of the time. Above, is the rich man receiving his guests; a servant sets the table: below, are the poor and maimed and blind and lame, the servants of the master of the house, the man who had bought five yoke of oxen, and the man that had married a wife, etc. (Gotha.)



FIG. 83. -- Scenes from life toward the close of the tenth century.

have scarcely any idea of the nature and capacity of secular architecture. If we leave vague and general descriptions out of the question, there seems to have been an utter lack of important achievements in this field. Apparently the only standard in building cities,

PLATE XVIII.



The Cathedral at Bamberg.

Begun 1002; rebuilt 1103-1139.

History of All Nations, Vol. VIII., page 315.

as well as in constructing castles (Fig. 84) and palaces, was still that of utility; while no development of new motives in plan and decoration, such as would give an awakening artistic sense an opportunity to display itself, had yet taken place. In the field of religious architecture, on the other hand, the Saxon age accomplished very important results, not merely in regard to the great mass of new buildings and enlargements, but also with reference to the development of larger dimensions, more ingenious combinations, and richer ornamentation. Of course this applies especially to the Saxon churches and cloisters. It is enough to remind the reader of Quedlinburg, Pöhlde, Grona, Duderstadt, and Enger, where probably the Empress Matilda acted as builder; of the splendid scale on which the monastery of Fulda, destroyed by fire in 937, was rebuilt; and of the erection of the Cathedral of St. Maurice, in Magdeburg, by Otto the Great. The style of many of these works shows traces which prove that their builders were acquainted with ancient architecture. To adorn the Cathedral of Magdeburg, Otto caused splendid marble columns (which he seems, like Charlemagne, to have taken from the palaces of Ravenna) to be brought from Italy. But of all this, a conflagration, which destroyed the edifice in 1207, has left but scanty remains. Archbishop Bruno of Cologne followed the example of his imperial brother, and was active in building churches within his archbishopric. But all these structures seemed but modest beginnings when compared with the astonishing abundance in which such works began to be produced in all parts of Germany from the commencement of the eleventh century. In this the bishops had a greater share than the kings and lay nobles; and we still admire the numerous works of the early Romance style, which were reared at that time, and serve as memorials of them. The most celebrated work of that age, indeed, the Cathedral of Bamberg (PLATE XVIII.), no longer exists in its original form. It was burned, except the walls, in 1081. But it is supposed with great probability, that the new building, which was reared under Bishop Otto of Bamberg, the apostle of the Pomeranians (1103-1139), faithfully reproduced in all

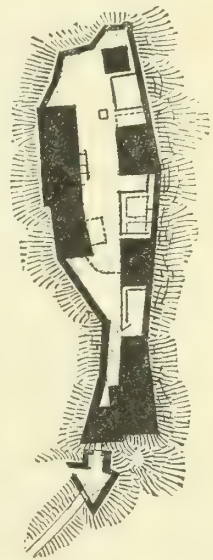


FIG. 84. — Ground plan of the Wartburg. (1067-1075.)

essential points the famous structure of Henry II. As at that time Saxony had ceased to be the point about which the German history centred, that country appears less important in the eleventh century in the domain of architecture also. The most important works of this period were reared in the Frankish countries, on the Main and the middle part of the Rhine, and next to these, in Bavaria and Swabia.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

ROMAN EMPERORS AND POPES.

NOTE.—The chronology of the early papacy, and indeed the existence of a bishopric at Rome in the first century, are matters of dispute.

Felix IV. and all preceding popes have been canonized. Popes after Felix IV. who have been canonized are indicated by an asterisk (*).

A complete list of the Eastern or Byzantine emperors will be found in Vol. IX., pp. 396, 397.

The relation between the titles of German king and Roman emperor in the Middle Ages is explained in Vol. IX., p. 39, note.

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
B. C.			
27—A. D. 14	Augustus.		
A. D.			
14—37	Tiberius.		
37—41	Caligula.		
41—54	Claudius I.	Peter (the Apostle).	41—67
54—68	Nero.	Linus.	67—79
68—69	Galba.		
69	Otho.		
69	Vitellius.		
69—79	Vespasian.		
79—81	Titus.	Cletus.	79—91
81—96	Domitian.	Clement I.	91—100
96—98	Nerva.		
98—117	Trajan.	Evaristus.	100—109
		Alexander.	109—119
117—138	Hadrian.	Sixtus I.	119—126
		Telesphorus.	128—137
138—161	Antoninus Pius.	Hyginus.	138—142
		Pius I.	142—156
161—180	Marcus Aurelius.	Anicetus.	157—167
	(L. Verus colleague, 161—169.)	Soter.	168—176
180—193	Commodus.	Eleutherus.	177—189
		Victor I.	190—202
193	Pertinax.		
193	Didius Julianus.		
193—211	Septimius Severus.		
	(Pescennius Niger anti-emperor, 193—194.)	Zephyrinus.	202—217
211—217	Caracalla.		
217—218	Macrinus.		

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
A. D.			
218-222	Elagabalus.	Calixtus I.	218-222
222-235	Alexander Severus.	Urban I.	222-230
		Pontianus.	230-235
235-238	Maximin.	Anterus.	235-236
		Fabianus.	236-250
238	Gordian I. and II., Pupienus Maximus Balbinus.		
238-244	Gordian III.		
244-249	Philip.		
249-251	Decius.		
251-254	Gallus.	Cornelius.	251-253
		Lucius I.	253-354
254	Aemilianus.	Stephen I.	254-257
254-260	Valerian. (Gallienus co-emperor.)	Sixtus II.	257-258
		Dionysius.	259-268
260-268	Gallienus.		
268-270	Claudius II.	Felix I.	269-274
270-275	Aurelian.	Eutychianus.	275-283
275-276	Tacitus.		
276	Florian.		
276-282	Probus.		
282-283	Carus.	Caius.	283-296
283-284	Carinus, Numerian.		
284-305	Diocletian. (286-305, Maximianus colleague.)	Marcellinus.	296-304
305-306	Constantius Chlorus.		
305-311	Galerius.		
306-307	Severus.		
306-312	Maxentius.	Marcellus I.	307-309
307-323	Licinius.		
308-313	Maximinus Daia.	Eusebius.	309
308-337	Constantine I. the Great.	Melchiades.	310-314
		Silvester I.	314-335
		Marcus.	336
		Julius I.	337-352
337-340	Constantine II.		
337-350	Constans.		
337-361	Constantius II. (Maxentius anti-emperor, 350-353.)	Liberius.	352-366
361-363	Julian.	(Felix II. anti-pope, 356-358.)	
363-364	Jovian.		
364-375	Valentinian I. (in the West).	Damasus I.	366-384
364-378	Valens (in the East).		
375-383	Gratian (in the West).		
375-392	Valentinian II. (in the West). (Maximus anti-emperor, 383-388.)		
379-395	Theodosius I. the Great. (Eugenius anti-emperor, 392-394.)	Siricius.	384-393
395	<i>Division of the Empire.</i>		
	<i>Emperors of the West, 395-476.</i>		
395-423	Honorius.	Anastasius I.	398-401
		Innocent I.	402-417
		Zosimus.	417-418
		Boniface I.	418-422

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
A. D.			
425-455	Valentinian III.	Celestine I.	422-432
		Sixtus III.	432-440
455	Maximus.	Leo I. the Great.	440-461
455-456	Avitus.		
457-461	Majorian.		
461-465	Lybius Severus.	Hilary.	461-468
465-467	Vacancy (Leo I. Eastern emperor).		
467-472	Anthemius.	Simplicius.	468-483
472	Olybrius.		
473-474	Glycerius.		
474-475	Julius Nepos.		
475-476	Romulus Augustulus.		
476	<i>End of the Western line.</i>		
476-800	<i>Unity of the empire nominally re-established under emperors reigning at Constantinople.</i>		
474-491	Zeno the Isaurian.		
491-518	Anastasius I.	Felix III.	483-492
		Gelasius I.	492-496
		Anastasius II.	496-498
		Symmachus.	498-514
518-527	Justin I.	Hormisdas.	514-523
		John I.	523-526
527-565	Justinian I. the Great.	Felix IV.	526-530
		Boniface II.	530-532
		John II.	532-535
		*Agapetus I.	535-536
		*Silverius.	536-537
		Vigilius.	537-555
		Pelagius I.	555-560
565-578	Justin II.	John III.	560-573
578-582	Tiberius I. (II.).	Benedict I.	574-578
582-602	Maurice.	Pelagius II.	578-590
602-610	Phocas.	* Gregory I. the Great.	590-604
		Sabinianus.	604-606
		Boniface III.	607
610-641	Heraclius.	* Boniface IV.	608-615
		* Deusdedit.	615-618
		Boniface V.	619-625
		Honorius I.	625-638
		Severinus.	640
641	Constantine III.	John IV.	640-642
641	Heraclionas.		
641-668	Constans II.	Theodore I.	642-649
		* Martin I.	649-653
		* Eugenius I.	654-657
		* Vitalianus.	657-672
668-685	Constantine IV. Pogonatus.	Adeodatus.	673-677
		Donus.	677-678

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
A. D.			
685-711	Justinian II. Rhinotmetus. (Leontius, 695-698, Tiberius II. (III.), 698-705, anti-emperors.)	* Agatho. * Leo II. * Benedict II. John V. Conon. * Sergius I. John VI. John VII. Sisinnius. Constantine I.	678-682 682-683 683-685 685-686 686-687 687-701 701-705 705-707 708 708-715
711-713 713-716	Philippicus Bardanes. Anastasius II.	* Gregory II.	715-731
716-717 718-741	Theodosius III. Leo III. the Isaurian.	* Gregory III. * Zacharias. Stephen (II.). Stephen II. (III.). * Paul I. Constantine II. Stephen III. (IV.). Adrian I.	731-741 741-752 752 752-757 757-767 767-768 768-772 772-795
741-775	Constantine V. Copronymus.		
775-780 780-797	Leo IV. the Chazar. Constantine VI. (Irene empress-regent.)	* Leo III.	795-816
797-802	Irene. <i>Line of Emperors in the West restored,</i> <i>800-1806.</i>		
800-814 814-840	Charles I. the Great (Charlemagne). Louis I. the Pious.	Stephen IV. (V.). * Paschal I. Eugenius II. Valentinus. Gregory IV.	816-817 817-824 824-827 827 827-844
840-855	Lothair I.	Sergius II. * Leo IV. Benedict III. * Nicholas I. Adrian II. John VIII.	844-847 847-855 855-858 858-867 867-872 872-882
855-875	Louis II.		
875-877 881-887	Charles II. the Bald. Charles III. the Fat.	Martin II. Adrian III. Stephen V. (VI.). Formosus.	882-884 884-885 885-891 891-896
891-894 894-896 896-899	Guido of Spoleto. Lambert of Spoleto. Arnulf.	Boniface VI. Stephen VI. (VII.). Romanus. Theodore II. John IX. Benedict IV.	896 896-897 897 897 898-900 900-903
901-915	Louis III.	Leo V. Christopher. Sergius III.	903 903-904 904-911

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
A. D.			
915-924	Berengarius of Friuli. (Hugh of Burgundy, 930-947.)	Anastasius III. Lando. John X. Leo VI. Stephen VII. (VIII.). John XI. Leo VII. Stephen VIII. (IX.). Martin III. Agapetus II. John XII.	911-913 913-914 914-928 928-929 929-931 931-936 936-939 939-942 942-946 946-955 955-963 (died 964.)
962-973	Otto I. the Great.	Leo VIII. Benedict V. John XIII.	963-965 964-965 965-972
973-983	Otto II.	Benedict VI. Boniface VII. Benedict VII.	972-974 974-975 975-983
983-1002	Otto III. the Wonder of the World.	John XIV. Boniface VII. restored. John XV. Gregory V. (John XVI. anti-pope, 997-998.) Silvester II.	983-984 984-985 985-996 996-999 999-1003
1002-1024	Henry II.	John XVII. John XVIII. Sergius IV. Benedict VIII. John XIX.	1003 1003-1009 1009-1012 1012-1024 1024-1033
1024-1039	Conrad II.	Benedict IX.	1033-1045
1039-1056	Henry III.	(Silvester III. anti-pope, 1044-1046.) Gregory VI. (Benedict IX. anti-pope, 1045-1046.) Clement II. Damasus II. * Leo IX. Victor II.	1045-1046 1046-1047 1047-1048 1048-1054 1054-1057
1056-1106	Henry IV.	Stephen IX. (X.). Benedict X. } rival popes { Nicholas II. } Alexander II. * Gregory VII. (Clement III. anti-pope, 1080.) Victor III. Urban II. Paschal II.	1057-1058 1058-1059 1058-1061 1061-1073 1073-1085 1086-1087 1088-1099 1099-1118
1106-1125	Henry V.	Gelasius II. Calixtus II. Honorius II.	1118-1119 1119-1124 1124-1130
1125-1138	Lothair II.	Innocent II.	1130-1143
1138-1152	Conrad III.		

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
A. D.			
1152-1190	Frederick I. Barbarossa.	Celestine II. Lucius II. Eugenius III. Anastasius IV. Adrian IV. Alexander III. (Paschal III. anti-pope, 1164-1167.) Lucius III. Urban III. Gregory VIII. Clement III.	1143-1144 1144-1145 1145-1153 1153-1154 1154-1159 1159-1181 1181-1185 1185-1187 1187 1187-1191
1190-1197	Henry VI.	Celestine III.	1191-1198
1197-1212	Otto IV. (Philip anti-emperor, 1197-1208.)	Innocent III.	1198-1216
1212-1250	Frederick II. (Henry Raspe rival, 1246.) (William of Holland rival, 1246-1247.)	Honorius III. Gregory IX.	1216-1227 1227-1241
1250-1254	Conrad IV.	Celestine IV. Innocent IV.	1241 1243-1254
1254-1273	The Great Interregnum. (Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile rival emperors from 1257.)	Alexander IV. Urban IV. Clement IV. Gregory X.	1254-1261 1261-1264 1265-1268 1271-1276
1273-1291	Rudolf I. of Hapsburg.	Innocent V. Adrian V. John XXI. Nicholas III. Martin IV. Honorius IV. Nicholas IV.	1276 1276 1276-1277 1277-1280 1281-1285 1285-1287 1288-1292
1292-1298	Adolphus of Nassau.	* Celestine V. Boniface VIII.	1294 1294-1303
1298-1308	Albert I. of Hapsburg.	Benedict XI. Clement V.	1303-1304 1305-1314
1308-1313	Henry VII. of Luxemburg.	<i>Popes at Avignon, 1309-1378.</i>	
1314-1346	Louis IV. of Bavaria.	John XXII. Benedict XII. Clement VI.	1316-1334 1334-1342 1342-1352
1346-1378	Charles IV. of Luxemburg.	Innocent VI. Urban V. Gregory XI. <i>The Great Schism, 1378-1417.</i>	1352-1362 1362-1370 1370-1378
1378-1400	Wenceslaus of Luxemburg.	Urban VI. Boniface IX. (Anti-popes at Avignon: Clement VII., 1378-1394; Benedict XIII., 1394-1417.)	1378-1389 1389-1404

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
A. D.			
1400-1410	Rupert of the Palatinate.	Innocent VII. Gregory XII. Alexander V. John XXIII. Martin V. Eugenius IV.	1404-1406 1406-1415 1409-1410 1410-1415 1417-1431 1431-1447
1410-1437	Sigismund of Luxemburg. <i>Emperors of the House of Hapsburg, 1438-1742, 1765-1806.</i>		
1438-1439	Albert II.		
1440-1493	Frederick III.	Nicholas V. Calixtus III. Pius II. Paul II. Sixtus IV. Innocent VIII. Alexander VI.	1447-1455 1455-1458 1458-1464 1464-1471 1471-1484 1484-1492 1492-1503
1493-1519	Maximilian I.	Pius III. Julius II. Leo X.	1503 1503-1513 1513-1521
1519-1556	Charles V.	Adrian VI. Clement VII. Paul III. Julius III. Marcellus II. Paul IV.	1522-1523 1523-1534 1534-1549 1550-1555 1555 1555-1559
1556-1564	Ferdinand I.	Pius IV.	1559-1565
1564-1576	Maximilian II.	* Pius V. Gregory XIII.	1566-1572 1572-1585
1576-1612	Rudolf II.	Sixtus V. Urban VII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. Clement VIII. Leo XI. Paul V.	1585-1590 1590 1590-1591 1591 1592-1605 1605 1605-1621
1612-1619	Matthias.		
1619-1637	Ferdinand II.	Gregory XV. Urban VIII.	1621-1623 1623-1644
1637-1657	Ferdinand III.	Innocent X. Alexander VII.	1644-1655 1655-1667
1658-1705	Leopold I.	Clement IX. Clement X. Innocent XI. Alexander VIII. Innocent XII. Clement XI.	1667-1669 1670-1676 1676-1689 1689-1691 1691-1700 1700-1721
1705-1711	Joseph I.		
1711-1740	Charles VI.	Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII. Clement XII. Benedict XIV.	1721-1724 1724-1730 1730-1740 1740-1758

YEARS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	YEARS.
A. D.			
1742-1745	Charles VII. of Bavaria.		
1745-1765	Francis I. of Lorraine.		
1765-1790	Joseph II.	Clement XIII.	1758-1769
		Clement XIV.	1769-1774
1790-1792	Leopold II.	Pius VI.	1775-1799
1792-1806	Francis II.		
1806	<i>End of the Holy Roman Empire.</i>	Pius VII.	1800-1823
		Leo XII.	1823-1829
		Pius VIII.	1829-1830
		Gregory XVI.	1831-1846
		Pius IX.	1846-1878
		Leo XIII.	1878-

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